

THE
WORKS
OF
HENRY FIELDING, Esq;

WITH
The LIFE of the AUTHOR.

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C O N T E N T S

OF THE TWELFTH VOLUME.

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CONVERSATION.

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C O N V E R S A T I O N.

MAN is generally represented as an animal formed for, and delighted in, society: In this state alone, it is said, his various talents can be exerted, his numberless necessities relieved, the dangers he is exposed to can be avoided, and many of the pleasures he eagerly affects, enjoyed. If these assertions be, as I think they are, undoubtedly and obviously certain, those few who have denied man to be a social animal, have left us these two solutions of their conduct: either that there are men as bold in denial, as can be found in assertion; and, as Cicero says, there is no absurdity which some philosopher or other hath not asserted; so we may say, there is no truth so glaring, that some have not denied it: or else, that these rejecters of society borrow all their information from their own savage dispositions, and are, indeed, themselves the only exceptions to the above general rule.

But to leave such persons to those who have thought them more worthy of an answer; there are others, who are so seemingly fond of this social state, that they are understood absolutely to confine it to their own species; and, entirely excluding the tamer and gentler, the herding and flocking parts of the creation, from all benefits of it, to set up this as one grand general distinction, between the human and the brute species.

Shall we conclude this denial of all society to the nature of brutes, which seems to be in defiance of every day's observation, to be as bold, as the denial of it to the nature of men? or, may we not more justly derive the error from an improper understand-

ing of this word Society in too confined and special a sense? in a word, do those who utterly deny it to the brutal nature, mean any other by society than conversation?

Now if we comprehend them in this sense, as I think we very reasonably may, the distinction appears to me to be truly just; for though other animals are not without all use of society, yet this noble branch of it seems, of all the inhabitants of this globe, confined to man only; the narrow power of communicating some few ideas of lust, or fear, or anger, which may be observable in brutes, falling infinitely short of what is commonly meant by conversation, as may be deduced from the origination of the word itself, the only accurate guide to knowledge. The primitive and literal sense of this word, is, I apprehend, to turn round together; and in its more copious usage we intend by it, that reciprocal interchange of ideas, by which truth is examined, things are, in a manner, turned round and sifted, and all our knowledge communicated to each other.

In this respect, man stands, I conceive, distinguished from, and superior to, all other earthly creatures: it is this privilege, which, while he is inferior in strength to some, in swiftness to others; without horns, or claws, or tusks to attack them, or even to defend himself against them, hath made him master of them all. Indeed, in other views, however vain men may be of their abilities, they are greatly inferior to their animal neighbours. With what envy must a swine, or a much less voracious animal, be surveyed by a glutton! and how contemptible must the talents of other sensualists appear, when opposed, perhaps, to some of the lowest and meanest of brutes! but in conversation man stands alone, at least in this part of the creation; he leaves all others behind him at his first start; and the greater progress he makes, the greater distance is between them.

Conversation is of three sorts. Men are said to converse with God, with themselves, and with one another. The two first of these have been so liberally
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and excellently spoken to by others, that I shall, at present, pass them by, and confine myself, in this essay, to the third only: since it seems to me amazing, that this grand business of our lives, the foundation of every thing either useful or pleasant, should have been so slightly treated of; that while there is scarce a profession or handicraft in life, however mean and contemptible, which is not abundantly furnished with proper rules to the attaining its perfection, men should be left almost totally in the dark, and without the least light to direct, or any guide to conduct, them in the proper exerting of those talents, which are the noblest privilege of human nature, and productive of all rational happiness; and the rather, as this power is by no means self-instructed; and in the possession of the artless and ignorant, is of so mean use, that it raises them very little above those animals who are void of it.

As conversation is a branch of society, it follows, that it can be proper to none who is not in his nature social. Now society is agreeable to no creatures who are not inoffensive to each other; and we therefore observe in animals, who are entirely guided by Nature, that it is cultivated by such only, while those of more noxious disposition addict themselves to solitude, and, unless when prompted by lust, or that necessary instinct implanted in them by nature, for the nurture of their young, shun as much as possible the society of their own species. If therefore there should be found some human individuals of so savage a habit, it would seem they were not adapted to society, and consequently, not to conversation: nor would any inconvenience ensue the admittance of such exceptions, since it would by no means impeach the general rule of man's being a social animal; especially when it appears (as is sufficiently and admirably proved by my friend, the author of *An Enquiry into Happiness*) that these men live in a constant opposition to their own nature, and are no less monsters than the most wanton abortions, or extravagant births.

Again, if society requires that its members should
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be inoffensive, so the more useful and beneficial they are to each other, the more suitable are they to the social nature, and more perfectly adapted to its institution; for all creatures seek their own happiness; and society is therefore natural to any, because it is naturally productive of this happiness. To render therefore any animal social, is to render it inoffensive; an instance of which is to be seen in those the ferocity of whose nature can be tamed by man. And here the reader may observe a double distinction of man from the more savage animals by society, and from the social by conversation.

But if men were merely inoffensive to each other, it seems as if society and conversation would be merely indifferent; and that, in order to make it desirable by a sensible being, it is necessary we should go farther, and propose some positive good to ourselves from it; and this pre-supposes not only negatively, our not receiving any hurt; but positively, our receiving some good, some pleasure or advantage, from each other in it, something which we could not find in an unsocial and solitary state: otherwise we might cry out with the right honourable poet*;

‘ Give us our wildness and our woods,
‘ Our huts and caves again.’

The art of pleasing or doing good to one another is therefore the art of conversation. It is this habit which gives it all its value. And as man’s being a social animal (the truth of which is incontestably proved by that excellent author of *An Enquiry*, &c. I have above cited) presupposes a natural desire or tendency this way, it will follow, that we can fail in attaining this truly desirable end from ignorance only in the means; and how general this ignorance is, may be, with some probability, inferred from our want of even a word to express this art by: that

* The Duke of Buckingham.

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which comes the nearest to it, and by which, perhaps, we would sometimes intend it, being so horribly and barbarously corrupted, that it contains at present scarce a simple ingredient of what it seems originally to have been designed to express.

The word I mean is Good-breeding; a word, I apprehend, not at first confined to externals, much less to any particular dress or attitude of the body: nor are the qualifications expressed by it to be furnished by a millener, a tailor, or a perriwig-maker; no, nor even by a dancing-master himself. According to the idea I myself conceive from this word, I should not have scrupled to call Socrates a well-bred man, though I believe he was very little instructed by any of the persons I have above enumerated. In short, by good-breeding (notwithstanding the corrupt use of the word in a very different sense) I mean the art of pleasing, or contributing as much as possible to the ease and happiness of those with whom you converse. I shall contend therefore no longer on this head: for whilst my reader clearly conceives the sense in which I use this word, it will not be very material whether I am right or wrong in its original application.

Good-breeding then, or the *Art of pleasing in conversation*, is expressed in two different ways, viz. in our actions and our words; and our conduct in both may be reduced to that concise, comprehensive rule in scripture; *Do unto all men as you would they should do unto you*. Indeed, concise as this rule is, and plain as it appears, what are all treatises on ethics, but comments upon it? and whoever is well read in the book of nature, and hath made much observation on the actions of men, will perceive so few capable of judging, or rightly pursuing, their own happiness, that he will be apt to conclude, that some attention is necessary (and more than is commonly used) to enable men to know truly, *what they would have done unto them*, or, at least, what it would be their interest to have done.

If therefore men, through weakness or inattention,

tion, often err in their conceptions of what would produce their own happiness, no wonder they should miss in the application of what will contribute to that of others; and thus we may, without too severe a censure on their inclinations, account for that frequent failure in true good-breeding, which daily experience gives us instances of.

elides, the commentators have well paraphrased on the abovementioned divine rule, that it is, to *do unto men what you would they* (if they were in your situation and circumstances, and you in theirs) *should do unto you*: and as this comment is necessary to be observed in ethics, so is it particularly useful in this our art, where the degree of the person is always to be considered, as we shall explain more at large hereafter.

We see then a possibility for a man well disposed to this golden rule, without some precautions, to err in the practice: nay, even good-nature itself, the very habit of mind most essential to furnish us with true good-breeding, the latter so nearly resembling the former, that it hath been called, and with the appearance at least of propriety, artificial good-nature; this excellent quality itself sometimes shoots us beyond the mark, and shews the truth of those lines in Horace:

*Insani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultrà quam satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam.*

Instances of this will be naturally produced, where we shew the deviations from those rules, which we shall now attempt to lay down.

As this good-breeding is the art of pleasing, it will be first necessary, with the utmost caution, to avoid hurting or giving any offence to those with whom we converse. And here we are surely to shun any kind of actual disrespect, or affront to their persons, by insolence, which is the severest attack that can be made on the pride of man, and of which Florus seems to have no inadequate opinion, when,
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speaking of the second Tarquin, he says, *In omnes superbiam (quæ crudelitate gravior est BONIS) grassatus;* 'He trod on all with insolence, which sits heavier on men of great minds than cruelty itself.' If there is any temper in man, which more than all others disqualifies him for society, it is this insolence or haughtiness, which, blinding a man to his own imperfections, and giving him a hawk's quick-sightedness to those of others, raises in him that contempt for his species, which inflates the cheeks, erects the head, and stiffens the gait, of those strutting animals, who sometimes stalk in assemblies, for no other reason, but to shew in their gesture and behaviour the disregard they have for the company. Though to a truly great and philosophical mind, it is not easy to conceive a more ridiculous exhibition than this puppet; yet to others he is little less than a nuisance; for contempt is a murderous weapon; and there is this difference only between the greatest and weakest man, when attacked by it, that, in order to wound the former, it must be just; whereas, without the shields of wisdom and philosophy, which, God knows, are in the possession of very few, it wants no justice to point it; but is certain to penetrate, from whatever corner it comes. It is this disposition which inspires the empty Cacus to deny his acquaintance, and overlook men of merit in distress; and the little, silly, pretty Phillida, or Foolida, to stare at the strange creatures round her. It is this temper which constitutes the supercilious eye, the reserved look, the distant bow, the scornful leer, the affected astonishment, the loud whisper, ending in a laugh directed full in the teeth of another. Hence spring, in short, those numberless offences given too frequently, in public and private assemblies, by persons of weak understandings, indelicate habits, and so hungry and foul-feeding a vanity, that it wants to devour whatever comes in its way. Now, if good-breeding be what we have endeavoured to prove it, how foreign, and, indeed, how opposite to it, must such a behaviour be? and can any man call a duke or
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a duchefs who wears it, well-bred? or are they not more juftly entitled to thofe inhuman names which they themfelves allot to the loweft vulgar? But behold a more pleafing picture on the reverfe. See the Earl of C——, noble in his birth, fplendid in his fortune, and embellifhed with every endowment of mind; how affable! how condefcending! himfelf the only one who feems ignorant that he is every way the greateft perfon in the room.

But it is not fufficient to be inoffenfive, we muft be profitable fervants to each other: we are, in the fecond place, to proceed to the utmoft verge in paying the refpect due to others. We had better go a little too far than flop fhort in this particular. My Lord Shaftesbury hath a pretty obfervation, that the beggar, in addreffing to a coach with, My Lord, is fure not to offend, even though there be no lord there; but, on the contrary, fhould plain Sir fly in the face of a nobleman, what muft be the confequence? And, indeed, whoever confiders the buftle and contention about precedence, the pains and labours undertaken, and fometimes the prices given for the fmalleft title or mark of pre-eminence, and the vifible fatisfaction betrayed in its enjoyment, may reasonably conclude this is a matter of no fmall confequence. The truth is, we live in a world of common men, and not of philofophers; for one of thefe, when he appears (which is very feldom) among us, is diftinguifhed, and very properly too, by the name of an odd fellow: for what is it lefs than extreme oddity to defpife what the generality of the world think the labour of their whole lives well employed in procuring? we are therefore to adapt our behaviour to the opinion of the generality of mankind, and not to that of a few odd fellows.

It would be tedious, and perhaps impoffible, to fpecify every inftance, or to lay down exact rules for our conduct in every minute particular. However, I fhall mention fome of the chief which moft ordinarily occur, after premifing, that the bufinefs of the whole is no more than to convey to others an idea of your
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esteem of them, which is indeed the substance of all the compliments, ceremonies, presents, and whatever passes between well-bred people. And here I shall lay down these positions:

First, that all mere ceremonies exist in form only, and have in them no substance at all: but being imposed by the laws of custom, become essential to good-breeding, from those high-flown compliments paid to the Eastern monarchs, and which pass between Chinese Mandarines, to those coarser ceremonials in use between English farmers and Dutch boors.

Secondly, that these ceremonies, poor as they are, are of more consequence than they at first appear, and, in reality, constitute the only external difference between man and man. Thus, His Grace, Right Honourable, My Lord, Right Reverend, Reverend, Honourable, Sir, Esquire, Mr, &c. have, in a philosophical sense, no meaning, yet are, perhaps, politically essential, and must be preserved by good-breeding; because,

Thirdly, they raise an expectation in the person by law and custom entitled to them, and who will consequently be displeased with the disappointment.

Now, in order to descend minutely into any rules for good-breeding, it will be necessary to lay some scene, or to throw our disciple into some particular circumstance. We will begin then with a visit in the country; and as the principal actor on this occasion is the person who receives it, we will, as briefly as possible, lay down some general rules for his conduct; marking, at the same time, the principal deviations we have observed on these occasions.

When an expected guest arrives to dinner at your house, if your equal, or indeed not greatly your inferior, he should be sure to find your family in some order, and yourself dressed and ready to receive him at your gate with a smiling countenance. This infuses an immediate cheerfulness into your guest, and persuades him of your esteem and desire of his com-

pany. Not so is the behaviour of Polysperchon, at whose gate you are obliged to knock a considerable time before you gain admittance. At length, the door being opened to you by a maid, or some improper servant, who wonders where the devil all the men were; and being asked if the gentleman is at home, answers, she believes so; you are conducted into a hall or back parlour, where you stay some time, before the gentleman, in a dishabille from his study or his garden, waits upon you, asks pardon, and assures you he did not expect you so soon.

Your guest, being introduced into a drawing-room, is, after the first ceremonies, to be asked, whether he will refresh himself after his journey, before dinner, (for which he is never to stay longer than the usual or fixed hour.) But this request is never to be repeated oftner than twice; and not in imitation of Calpeus, who, as if hired by a physician, crams wine in a morning down the throats of his most temperate friends, their constitutions being not so dear to them as their present quiet.

When dinner is on the table, and the ladies have taken their places, the gentlemen are to be introduced into the eating-room, where they are to be seated with as much seeming indifference as possible, unless there be any present whose degrees claim an undoubted precedence. As to the rest, the general rules of precedence are by marriage, age, and profession. Lastly, in placing your guests, regard is rather to be had to birth than fortune: for though purse-pride is forward enough to exalt itself, it bears a degradation with more secret comfort and ease than the former, as being more inwardly satisfied with itself, and less apprehensive of neglect or contempt.

The order in helping your guests is to be regulated by that of placing them: but here I must with great submission recommend to the lady at the upper-end of the table, to distribute her favours as equally and as impartially as she can. I have sometimes seen a large dish of fish extend no farther than to the fifth person, and a haunch of venison lose all its fat before half the table had tasted it.

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A single request to eat of any particular dish, how elegant soever, is the most I allow. I strictly prohibit all earnest solicitations, all complaints that you have no appetite, which are sometimes little less than burlesque, and always impertinent and troublesome.

And here, however low it may appear to some readers, as I have known omissions of this kind give offence, and sometimes make the offenders, who have been very well-meaning persons, ridiculous, I cannot help mentioning the ceremonial of drinking healths at table, which is always to begin with the lady's and next the master's of the house.

When dinner is ended, and the ladies retired, though I do not hold the master of the feast obliged to fuddle himself through complaisance (and, indeed, it is his own fault generally, if his company be such as would desire it) yet, he is to see that the bottle circulate sufficiently to afford every person present a moderate quantity of wine, if he chuses it; at the same time permitting those who desire it, either to pass the bottle, or fill their glass as they please. Indeed, the beastly custom of besotting, and ostentatious contention for pre-eminence in their cups, seems at present pretty well abolished among the better sort of people. Yet Methus still remains, who measures the honesty and understanding of mankind by the capaciousness of their swallow; who sings forth the praises of a bumper, and complains of the light in your glass; and at whose table it is as difficult to preserve your senses, as to preserve your purse at a gaming table, or your health at a b——y house. On the other side, Sophronus eyes you carefully whilst you are filling out his liquor. The bottle as surely stops when it comes to him, as your chariot at Temple-Bar; and it is almost as impossible to carry a pint of wine from his house, as to gain the love of a reigning beauty, or borrow a shilling of P—— W——.

But to proceed. After a reasonable time, if your guest intends staying with you the whole evening, and declines the bottle, you may propose play, walking, or any other amusement; but these are to be but barely mentioned, and offered to his choice with all indif-

ference on your part. What person can be so dull as not to perceive in Agyrtes a longing to pick your pockets? or in Alazon, a desire to satisfy his own vanity, in shewing you the rarities of his house and gardens? When your guest offers to go, there should be no solicitations to stay, unless for the whole night, and that no farther than to give him a moral assurance of his being welcome so to do: no assertions that he shan't go yet; no laying on violent hands; no private orders to servants, to delay providing the horses or vehicles; like Desinophylax, who never suffers any one to depart from his house without entitling him to an action of false imprisonment.

Let us now consider a little the part which the visitor himself is to act. And first, he is to avoid the two extremes of being too early, or too late, so as neither to surprise his friend unawares or unprovided, nor detain him too long in expectation. Orthrius, who hath nothing to do, disturbs your rest in a morning; and the frugal Chronophidens, lest he should waste some minutes of his precious time, is sure to spoil your dinner.

The address at your arrival should be as short as possible, especially when you visit a superior; not imitating Phlenaphius, who would stop his friend in the rain, rather than omit a single bow.

Be not too observant of trifling ceremonies, such as rising, sitting, walking first in or out of the room, except with one greatly your superior; but when such a one offers you precedence, it is uncivil to refuse it: of which I will give you the following instance. An English nobleman, being in France, was bid by Lewis XIV. to enter his coach before him, which he excused himself from; the king then immediately mounted, and ordering the door to be shut, drove on, leaving the nobleman behind him.

Never refuse any thing offered you out of civility, unless in preference of a lady, and that no oftner than once; for nothing is more truly good-breeding, than to avoid being troublesome. Though the taste and humour of the visitor is to be chiefly considered, yet is some regard likewise to be had to that of the master of
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the house; for otherwise your company will be rather a penance than a pleasure. Methutus plainly discovers his visit to be paid to his sober friend's bottle; nor will Philopastus abstain from cards, though he is certain they are agreeable only to himself; whilst the slender Leptines gives his fat entertainer a sweat, and makes him run the hazard of breaking his wind up his own mounts.

If conveniency allows your staying longer than the time proposed, it may be civil to offer to depart, lest your stay may be incommodious to your friend: but if you perceive the contrary, by his solicitations, they should be readily accepted; without tempting him to break these rules we have above laid down for him; causing a confusion in his family, and among his servants, by preparation for your departure. Lastly, when you are resolved to go, the same method is to be observed which I have prescribed at your arrival. No tedious ceremonies of taking leave: not like Hyperphylus, who bows and kisses, and squeezes by the hand as heartily, and wishes you as much health and happiness, when he is going a journey home of ten miles, from a common acquaintance, as if he was leaving his nearest friend or relation on a voyage to the East-Indies.

Having thus briefly considered our reader in the circumstances of a private visit, let us now take him into a public assembly, where, as more eyes will be on his behaviour, it cannot be less his interest to be instructed. We have, indeed, already formed a general picture of the chief enormities committed on these occasions; we shall here endeavour to explain more particularly the rules of an opposite demeanour, which we may divide into three sorts, *viz.* our behaviour to our superiors, to our equals, and to our inferiors.

In our behaviour to our superiors, two extremes are to be avoided, namely, an abject and base servility, and an impudent and encroaching freedom. When the well-born Hyperdulus approaches a nobleman in any public place, you would be persuaded he was one of the meanest of his domestics: his cringes fall little

short of prostration; and his whole behaviour is so mean and servile, that an eastern monarch would not require more humiliation from his vassals. On the other side; Anaschyntus, whom fortunate accidents, without any pretensions from his birth, have raised to associate with his betters, shakes my Lord Duke by the hand, with a familiarity favouring not only of the most perfect intimacy, but the closest alliance. The former behaviour properly raises our contempt, the latter our disgust. Hyperdulus seems worthy of wearing his Lordship's livery; Anaschyntus deserves to be turned out of his service for his impudence. Between these two is that golden mean, which declares a man ready to acquiesce in allowing the respect due to a title by the laws and customs of his country, but impatient of any insult, and disdaining to purchase the intimacy with, and favour of, a superior, at the expence of conscience or honour. As to the question, who are our superiors; I shall endeavour to ascertain them, when I come, in the second place, to mention our behaviour to our equals. The first instruction on this head, being carefully to consider who are such: every little superiority of fortune or profession being too apt to intoxicate men's minds, and elevate them, in their own opinion, beyond their merit or pretensions. Men are superior to each other in this our country by title, by birth, by rank in profession, and by age; very little, if any, being to be allowed to fortune, though so much is generally exacted by it, and commonly paid to it. Mankind never appear to me in a more despicable light, than when I see them, by a simple as well as mean servility, voluntarily concurring in the adoration of riches, without the least benefit or prospect from them. Respect and deference are perhaps justly demandable of the obliged, and may be, with some reason at least, from expectation, paid to the rich and liberal from the necessitous: but that men should be allured by the glittering of wealth only, to feed the insolent pride of those who will not in return feed their hunger; that the sordid niggard should find any sacrifices on the altar of his vanity, seems to arise from a blinder idolatry, and a more bigotted and senseless super-

superstition, than any which the sharp eyes of priests have discovered in the human mind.

All gentlemen, therefore, who are not raised above each other by title, birth, rank in profession, age, or actual obligation, being to be considered as equals, let us take some lessons for their behaviour to each other in public, from the following examples; in which we shall discern as well what we are to elect, as what we are to avoid. Authades is so absolutely abandoned to his own humour, that he never gives it up on any occasion. If Seraphina herself, whose charms one would imagine should infuse alacrity into the limbs of a cripple sooner than the Bath waters, was to offer herself for his partner, he would answer, he never danced, even though the ladies lost their ball by it. Nor doth this denial arise from incapacity; for he was in his youth an excellent dancer, and still retains sufficient knowledge of the art, and sufficient abilities in his limbs to practise it; but from an affectation of gravity, which he will not sacrifice to the eagerest desire of others. Dyskolus hath the same aversion to cards; and though competently skilled in all games, is by no importunities to be prevailed on to make a third at ombre, or a fourth at whist and quadrille. He will suffer any company to be disappointed of their amusement, rather than submit to pass an hour or two a little disagreeably to himself. The refusal of Philautus is not so general: he is very ready to engage, provided you will indulge him in any favourite game, but it is impossible to persuade him to any other. I should add, both these are men of fortune; and the consequences of loss or gain, at the rate they are desired to engage, very trifling and inconsiderable to them.

The rebukes these people sometimes meet with, are no more equal to their deserts than the honour paid to Charistus, the benevolence of whose mind scarce permits him to indulge his own will, unless by accident. Though neither his age nor understanding incline him to dance, nor will admit his receiving any pleasure from it, yet would he caper a whole evening, rather than a fine young lady should lose an opportunity

portunity of displaying her charms by the several genteel and amiable attitudes which this exercise affords the skilful of that sex. And tho' cards are not adapted to his temper, he never once baulked the inclinations of others on that account.

But as there are many who will not in the least instance mortify their own humour to purchase the satisfaction of all mankind, so there are some who make no scruple of satisfying their own pride and vanity, at the expence of the most cruel mortification of others. Of this kind is Agroicus, who seldom goes to an assembly, but he affronts half his acquaintance, by overlooking or disregarding them.

As this is a very common offence, and indeed much more criminal, both in its cause and effect, than is generally imagined, I shall examine it very minutely; and I doubt not but to make it appear, that there is no behaviour (to speak like a philosopher) more contemptible, nor, in a civil sense, more detestible than this.

The first ingredient in this composition is pride, which, according to the doctrine of some, is the universal passion. There are others, who consider it as the foible of great minds; and others again, who will have it to be the very foundation of greatness; and, perhaps, it may of that greatness which we have endeavoured to expose in many parts of these works: but to real greatness, which is the union of a good heart with a good head, it is almost diametrically opposite, as it generally proceeds from the depravity of both, and almost certainly from the badness of the latter. Indeed, a little observation will shew us, that fools are the most addicted to this vice; and a little reflexion will teach us, that it is incompatible with true understanding. Accordingly we see, that while the wisest of men have constantly lamented the imbecility and imperfection of their own nature, the meanest and weakest have been trumpeting forth their own excellencies, and triumphing in their own sufficiency.

Pride may, I think, be properly defined, the pleasure we feel in contemplating our own superior merit, on comparing it with that of others. That it arises from

from this supposed superiority, is evident : for however great you admit a man's merit to be, if all men were equal to him, there would be no room for pride. Now if it stop here, perhaps, there is no enormous harm in it, or, at least, no more than is common to all other folly ; every species of which is always liable to produce every species of mischief : folly I fear it is ; for should the man estimate rightly on this occasion, and the balance should fairly turn on his side in this particular instance ; should he be indeed a greater orator, poet, general ; should he be more wise, witty, learned, young, rich, healthy, or in whatever instance he may excel one, or many, or all ; yet, if he examine himself thoroughly, will he find no reason to abate his pride ? is the quality, in which he is so eminent, so generally or justly esteemed ? is it so entirely his own ? doth he not rather owe his superiority to the defects of others, than to his own perfection ? or, lastly, can he find in no part of his character a weakness, which may counterpoise this merit, and which as justly, at least, threatens him with shame, as this entices him to pride ? I fancy, if such a scrutiny was made (and nothing so ready as good sense to make it), a proud man would be as rare, as in reality he is a ridiculous monster. But suppose a man, on this comparison, is (as may sometimes happen) a little partial to himself, the harm is to himself, and he becomes only ridiculous from it. If I prefer my excellence in poetry to Pope or Young ; if an inferior actor should, in his opinion, exceed Quin or Garrick ; or a sign-post painter set himself above the inimitable Hogarth ; we become only ridiculous by our vanity ; and the persons themselves, who are thus humbled in the comparison, would laugh with more reason than any other. Pride therefore, hitherto, seems an inoffensive weakness only, and entitles a man to no worse an appellation than that of a fool : but it will not stop here ; though fool be perhaps no desirable term, the proud man will deserve worse : he is not contented with the admiration he pays himself ; he now becomes arrogant, and requires the same respect and preference from the world ; for pride, though the
greatest

greatest of flatterers, is by no means a profitable servant to itself; it resembles the parson of the parish more than the squire, and lives rather on the tithes, oblations, and contributions, it collects from others, than on its own demesne. As pride therefore is seldom without arrogance, so is this never to be found without insolence. The arrogant man must be insolent, in order to attain his own ends: and to convince and remind men of the superiority he affects, will naturally, by ill words, actions, and gestures, endeavour to throw the despised person at as much distance as possible from him. Hence proceeds that supercilious look, and all those visible indignities with which men behave in public, to those whom they fancy their inferiors. Hence the very notable custom of deriding and often denying the nearest relations, friends, and acquaintance, in poverty and distress; lest we should anywise be levelled with the wretches we despise, either in their own imagination, or in the conceit of any who should behold familiarities pass between us.

But besides pride, folly, arrogance, and insolence, there is another simple, which vice never willingly leaves out of any composition; and this is ill-nature. A good-natured man may indeed (provided he is a fool) be proud, but arrogant and insolent he cannot be; unless we will allow to such a still higher degree of folly, an ignorance of human nature; which may indeed entitle them to forgiveness, in the benign language of Scripture, because they know not what they do.

For when we come to consider the effect of this behaviour on the person who suffers it, we may perhaps have reason to conclude, that murder is not a much more cruel injury. What is the consequence of this contempt? or, indeed, what is the design of it, but to expose the object of it to shame? a sensation as uneasy, and almost intolerable, as those which arise from the severest pains inflicted on the body: a convulsion of the mind (if I may so call it) which immediately produces symptoms of universal disorder in the whole man; which hath sometimes been attended with death itself; and to which death hath, by great multitudes,

titudes, been with much alacrity preferred. Now, what less than the highest degree of ill-nature can permit a man to pamper his own vanity at the price of another's shame? Is the glutton, who, to raise the flavour of his dish, put some birds or beasts to exquisite torment, more cruel to the animal, than this our proud man to his own species?

This character then is a composition made up of those odious contemptible qualities, pride, folly, arrogance, insolence, and ill-nature. I shall dismiss it with some general observations, which will place it in so ridiculous a light, that a man must hereafter be possessed of a very considerable portion, either of folly or impudence, to assume it.

First, It proceeds on one grand fallacy: for whereas this wretch is endeavouring, by a supercilious conduct, to lead the beholder into an opinion of his superiority to the despised person, he inwardly flatters his own vanity with a deceitful presumption, that this his conduct is founded on a general pre-conceived opinion of this superiority.

Secondly, This caution to preserve it, plainly indicates a doubt, that the superiority of our own character is very slightly established; for which reason we see it chiefly practised by men who have the weakest pretensions to the reputation they aim at; and, indeed, none was ever freer from it than that noble person whom we have already mentioned in this essay, and who can never be mentioned but with honour, by those who know him.

Thirdly, This opinion of our superiority is commonly very erroneous. Who hath not seen a general behaving in this supercilious manner to an officer of lower rank, who hath been greatly his superior in that very art, to his excellence in which the general ascribes all his merit! Parallel instances occur in every other art, science, or profession.

Fourthly, Men who excel others in trifling instances, frequently cast a supercilious eye on their superiors in the highest. Thus the least pretensions to pre-eminence in title, birth, riches, equipage, dress, &c. constantly overlook the most noble endowments

ments of virtue, honour, wisdom, sense, wit, and every other quality which can truly dignify and adorn a man.

Lattly, The lowest and meanest of our species are the most strongly addicted to this vice; men who are a scandal to their sex, and women who disgrace human nature: for the basest mechanic is so far from being exempt, that he is generally the most guilty of it. It visits alehouses and ginshops, and whistles in the empty heads of fiddlers, mountebanks, and dancingmasters.

To conclude a character, on which we have already dwelt longer than is consistent with the intended measure of this essay: this contempt of others is the truest symptom of a base and a bad heart. While it suggests itself to the mean and the vile, and tickles their little fancy on every occasion, it never enters the great and good mind, but on the strongest motives: nor is it then a welcome guest, affording only an uneasy sensation, and brings always with it a mixture of concern and compassion.

We will now proceed to inferior criminals in society. Theoretus, conceiving that the assembly is only met to see and admire him, is uneasy unless he engrosses the eyes of the whole company. The giant doth not take more pains to be viewed; and as he is unfortunately not so tall, he carefully deposits himself in the most conspicuous place: nor will that suffice; he must walk about the room, though to the great disturbance of the company; and if he can purchase general observation, at no less rate will condescend to be ridiculous; for he prefers being laughed at, to being taken little notice of.

On the other side, Dufopius is so bashful, that he hides himself in a corner; he hardly bears being looked at, and never quits the first chair he lights upon, lest he should expose himself to public view. He trembles when you bow to him at a distance, is shocked at hearing his own voice, and would almost swoon at the repetition of his name.

The audacious Anedes, who is extremely amorous

in his inclinations, never likes a woman, but his eyes ask her the question; without considering the confusion he often occasions to the object: he ogles and languishes at every pretty woman in the room. As there is no law of morality which he would not break to satisfy his desires, so is there no form of civility which he doth not violate to communicate them. When he gets possession of a woman's hand, which those of stricter decency never give him but with reluctance, he considers himself as its master. Indeed, there is scarce a familiarity which he will abtain from, on the slightest acquaintance, and in the most public place. Seraphina herself can make no impression on the rough temper of Agroicus; neither her quality, nor her beauty, can exact the least complacence from him; and he would let her lovely limbs ach, rather than offer her his chair: while the gentle Lyperus tumbles over benches, and overthrows tea-tables, to take up a fan or a glove: he forces you, as a good parent doth his child, for your own good: he is absolute master of a lady's will, nor will allow her the election of standing or sitting in his company. In short, the impertinent civility of Lyperus is as troublesome, though, perhaps, not so offensive, as the brutish rudeness of Agroicus.

Thus we have hinted at most of the common enormities committed in public assemblies, to our equals; for it would be tedious and difficult to enumerate all: nor is it needful; since from this sketch we may trace all others, most of which, I believe, will be found to branch out from some of the particulars here specified.

I am now, in the last place, to consider our behaviour to our inferiors: in which condescension can never be too strongly recommended; for as a deviation on this side is much more innocent than on the other, so the pride of man renders us much less liable to it. For besides that we are apt to over-rate our own perfections, and undervalue the qualifications of our neighbours, we likewise set too high an esteem on the things themselves, and consider them as constituting a more essential difference between us than they really do.

The qualities of the mind do, in reality, establish the truest superiority over one another; yet should not these so far elevate our pride, as to inflate us with contempt, and make us look down on our fellow-creatures as on animals of an inferior order: but that the fortuitous accident of birth, the acquisition of wealth, with some outward ornaments of dress should inspire men with an insolence capable of treating the rest of mankind with disdain, is so preposterous, that nothing less than daily experience could give it credit.

If men were to be rightly estimated, and divided into subordinate classes, according to the superior excellence of their several natures, perhaps the lowest class of either sex would be properly assigned to those two disgracers of the human species, commonly called a beau, and a fine lady: for if we rate men by the faculties of the mind, in what degree must these stand? nay, admitting the qualities of the body were to give the pre-eminence, how many of those whom Fortune hath placed in the lowest station, must be ranked above them? If dress is their only title, sure even the monkey, if as well dressed, is on as high a footing as the beau.—But, perhaps, I shall be told, they challenge their dignity from birth: that is a poor and mean pretence to honour, when supported with no other. Persons who have no better claim to superiority should be ashamed of this; they are really a disgrace to those very ancestors from whom they would derive their pride, and are chiefly happy in this, that they want the very moderate portion of understanding which would enable them to despise themselves.

And yet, who so prone to a contemptuous carriage as these! I have myself seen a little female thing, which they have called My Lady, of no greater dignity in the order of beings than a cat, and of no more use to society than a butterfly; whose mein would not give even the idea of a gentlewoman, and whose face would cool the loosest libertine; with a mind as empty of ideas as an opera, and a body fuller of diseases than an hospital; I have seen this thing express contempt to a woman who was an honour to her sex, and an ornament to the creation.

To

To confess the truth, there is little danger of the possessor's ever undervaluing this titular excellence. Not that I would withdraw from it that deference which the policy of government hath assigned it. On the contrary, I have laid down the most exact compliance with this respect, as a fundamental in good-breeding; nay, I insist only that we may be admitted to pay it; and not treated with a disdain even beyond what the eastern monarchs shew to their slaves. Surely it is too high an elevation, when, instead of treating the lowest human creature, in a Christian sense, as our brethren, we look down on such as are but one rank, in the civil order, removed from us, as unworthy to breathe even the same air, and regard the most distant communication with them as an indignity and disgrace offered to ourselves. This is considering the difference not in the individual, but in the very species; a height of insolence impious in a Christian society, and most absurd and ridiculous in a trading nation.

I have now done with my first head, in which I have treated of good-breeding, as it regards our actions. I shall, in the next place, consider it with respect to our words; and shall endeavour to lay down some rules, by observing which our well-bred man may, in his discourse as well as actions, contribute to the happiness and well-being of society.

Certain it is, that the highest pleasure which we are capable of enjoying in conversation, is to be met with only in the society of persons whose understanding is pretty near on an equality with our own: nor is this equality only necessary to enable men of exalted genius, and extensive knowledge, to taste the sublimer pleasures of communicating their refined ideas to each other; but it is likewise necessary to the inferior happiness of every subordinate degree of society, down to the very lowest. For instance; we will suppose a conversation between Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and three dancing masters. It will be acknowledged, I believe, that the heel Sophists would be as little pleased with the company of the philosophers, as the philosophers with theirs.

It would be greatly therefore for the improvement and happiness of conversation, if society could be formed on this equality: but as men are not ranked in this world by the different degrees of their understanding, but by other methods, and consequently all degrees of understanding often meet in the same class, and must *ex necessitate* frequently converse together, the impossibility of accomplishing any such Utopian scheme very plainly appears. Here therefore is a visible, but unavoidable, imperfection in society itself.

But as we have laid it down as a fundamental, that the essence of good-breeding is to contribute as much as possible to the ease and happiness of mankind, so will it be the business of our well-bred man to endeavour to lessen this imperfection to his utmost, and to bring society as near to a level at least as he is able.

Now there are but two ways to compass this, *viz.* by raising the lower, and by lowering what is higher.

Let us suppose then, that very unequal company I have before mentioned met: the former of these is apparently impracticable. Let Socrates, for instance, institute a discourse on the nature of the soul, or Plato reason on the native beauty of virtue, and Aristotle on his occult qualities.——What must become of our dancing-masters? Would they not stare at one another with surprise? and, most probably, at our philosophers with contempt? Would they have any pleasure in such society? or would they not rather wish themselves in a dancing-school, or a green-room at the play-house? What therefore have our philosophers to do, but to lower themselves to those who cannot rise to them.

And surely there are subjects on which both can converse. Hath not Socrates heard of harmony? Hath not Plato, who draws virtue in the person of a fine woman, an idea of the gracefulness of attitude? and hath not Aristotle himself written a book on motion? In short, to be a little serious, there are many topics on which they can at least be intelligible to each other.

How

How absurd then must appear the conduct of Cenodoxus, who, having had the advantage of a liberal education, and having made a pretty good progress in literature, is constantly advancing learned subjects in common conversation? he talks of the classics before the ladies; and of Greek criticisms among fine gentlemen. What is this less than an insult on the company, over whom he thus affects a superiority, and whose time he sacrifices to his vanity?

Wisely different is the amiable conduct of Sophronus; who, though he exceeds the former in knowledge, can submit to discourse on the most trivial matters, rather than introduce such as his company are utter strangers to. He can talk of fashions and diversions among the ladies; nay, can even condescend to horses and dogs with country gentlemen. This gentleman, who is equal to dispute on the highest and abstrusest points, can likewise talk on a fan, or a horse-race; nor had ever any one, who was not himself a man of learning, the least reason to conceive the vast knowledge of Sophronus, unless from the report of others.

Let us compare these together. Cenodoxus proposes the satisfaction of his own pride from the admiration of others; Sophronus thinks of nothing but their amusement. In the company of Cenodoxus, every one is rendered uneasy, laments his own want of knowledge, and longs for the end of the dull assembly: with Sophronus all are pleased, and contented with themselves in their knowledge of matters which they find worthy the consideration of a man of sense. Admiration is involuntarily paid the former; to the latter it is given joyfully. The former receives it with envy and hatred; the latter enjoys it as the sweet fruit of good-will. The former is shunned; the latter courted by all.

This behaviour in Cenodoxus may, in some measure, account for an observation we must have frequent occasion to make: that the conversation of men of very moderate capacities is often preferred to that with men of superior talents: in which the world acts more wisely than at first they may seem; for besides

that backwardness in mankind to give their admiration, what can be duller, or more void of pleasure, than discourses on subjects above our comprehension ! It is like listening to an unknown language ; and if such company is ever desired by us, it is a sacrifice to our vanity, which imposes on us to believe that we may by these means raise the general opinion of our own parts and knowledge, and not from that cheerful delight which is the natural result of an agreeable conversation.

There is another very common fault equally destructive of this delight, by much the same means ; though it is far from owing its original to any real superiority of parts and knowledge : this is discouraging on the mysteries of a particular profession, to which all the rest of the company, except one or two, are utter strangers. Lawyers are generally guilty of this fault, as they are more confined to the conversation of one another ; and I have known a very agreeable company spoiled, where there have been two of these gentlemen present, who have seemed rather to think themselves in a court of justice, than in a mixed assembly of persons met only for the entertainment of each other.

But it is not sufficient that the whole company understand the topic of their conversation ; they should be likewise equally interested in every subject not tending to their general information or amusement ; for these are not to be postponed to the relation of private affairs, much less of the particular grievance or misfortune of a single person. To bear a share in the afflictions of another, is a degree of friendship not to be expected in a common acquaintance ; nor hath any man a right to indulge the satisfaction of a weak and mean mind by the comfort of pity, at the expence of the whole company's diversion. The inferior and unsuccessful members of the several professions are generally guilty of this fault ; for as they fail of the reward due to their great merit, they can seldom refrain from reviling their superiors, and complaining of their own hard and unjust fate.

Farther ; as a man is not to make himself the sub-
ject

ject of the conversation, so neither is he to engross the whole to himself. As every man had rather please others by what he says, than be himself pleased by what they say; or, in other words, as every man is best pleased with the consciousness of pleasing; so should all have an equal opportunity of aiming at it. This is a right which we are so offended at being deprived of, that though I remember to have known a man reputed a good companion, who seldom opened his mouth in company, unless to swallow his liquor; yet I have scarce ever heard that appellation given to a very talkative person, even when he hath been capable of entertaining, unless he hath done this with buffoonry, and made the rest amends, by partaking of their scorn, together with their admiration and applause.

A well-bred man therefore will not take more of the discourse than falls to his share: nor in this will he shew any violent impetuosity of temper, or exert any loudness of voice, even in arguing: for the information of the company, and the conviction of his antagonist, are to be his apparent motives; not the indulgence of his own pride, or an ambitious desire of victory; which latter, if a wise man should entertain, he will be sure to conceal with his utmost endeavour: since he must know, that to lay open his vanity in public, is no less absurd than to lay open his bosom to an enemy, whose drawn sword is pointed against it: for every man hath a dagger in his hand, ready to stab the vanity of another, wherever he perceives it.

Having now shewn, that the pleasure of conversation must arise from the discourse being on subjects levelled to the capacity of the whole company; from being on such in which every person is equally interested; from every one's being admitted to his share in the discourse; and, lastly, from carefully avoiding all noise, violence, and impetuosity; it might seem proper to lay down some particular rules for the choice of those subjects which are most likely to conduce to the chearful delights proposed from this social communication: but as such an attempt might appear
absurd,

absurd, from the infinite variety, and perhaps too dictatorial in its nature, I shall confine myself to rejecting those topics only which seem most foreign to this delight, and which are most likely to be attended with consequences rather tending to make society an evil, than to procure us any good from it.

And first, I shall mention that which I have hitherto only endeavoured to restrain within certain bounds, namely, Arguments: but which, if they were entirely banished out of company, especially from mixed assemblies, and where ladies make part of the society, it would, I believe, promote their happiness: they have been sometimes attended with bloodshed, generally with hatred from the conquered party towards his victor; and scarce ever with conviction. Here I except jocular arguments, which often produce much mirth; and serious disputes between men of learning (when none but such are present), which tend to the propagation of knowledge, and the edification of the company.

Secondly, Slander; which, however frequently used, or however savory to the palate of ill-nature, is extremely pernicious; as it is often unjust, and highly injurious to the person slandered; and always dangerous, especially in large and mixed companies; where sometimes an undesigned offence is given to an innocent relation or friend of such person, who is thus exposed to shame and confusion, without having any right to resent the affront. Of this there have been very tragical instances; and I have myself seen some very ridiculous ones, but which have given great pain, as well to the person offended, as to him who hath been the innocent occasion of giving the offence.

Thirdly; All general Reflections on countries, religions, and professions, which are always unjust. If these are ever tolerable, they are only from the persons who with some pleasantry ridicule their own country. It is very common among us to cast sarcasms on a neighbouring nation, to which we have no other reason to bear an antipathy, than what is more usual than justifiable, because we have injured it:

it: but sure such general satire is not founded on truth: for I have known gentlemen of that nation possessed with every good quality which is to be wished in a man, or required in a friend. I remember a repartee made by a gentleman of this country, which, though it was full of the severest wit, the person to whom it was directed could not resent, as he so plainly deserved it. He had with great bitterness inveighed against this whole people; upon which, one of them, who was present, very coolly answered, "I don't know, Sir, whether I have not more reason to be pleased with the compliment you pay my country, than to be angry with what you say against it; since, by your abusing us all so heavily, you have plainly implied you are not of it." This exposed the other to so much laughter, especially as he was not unexceptionable in his character, that I believe he was sufficiently punished for his ill-mannered satire.

Fourthly; Blasphemy, and irreverend mention of religion. I will not here debate what compliment a man pays to his own understanding, by the profession of infidelity; it is sufficient to my purpose, that he runs a risque of giving the cruellest offence to persons of a different temper; for if a loyalist would be greatly affronted by hearing any indecencies offered to the person of a temporal prince, how much more bitterly must a man, who sincerely believes in such a being as the Almighty, feel any irreverence, or insult shewn to his name, his honour, or his institution? And notwithstanding the impious character of the present age, and especially of many among those whose more immediate business it is to lead men, as well by example as precept, into the ways of piety, there are still sufficient numbers left, who pay so honest and sincere a reverence to religion, as may give us a reasonable expectation of finding one at least of this stamp in every large company.

A fifth particular to be avoided is Indecency. We are not only to forbear the repeating of such words as would give an immediate affront to a lady of reputation; but the raising of any loose ideas tending to the offence

offence of that modesty, which, if a young woman hath not something more than the affectation of, she is not worthy the regard even of a man of pleasure, provided he hath any delicacy in his constitution. How inconsistent with good-breeding it is to give pain and confusion to such, is sufficiently apparent; all double entendres, and obscene jests, are therefore carefully to be avoided before them. But suppose no ladies present, nothing can be meaner, lower, and less productive of rational mirth, than this loose conversation. For my own part, I cannot conceive how the idea of jest or pleasantry came ever to be annexed to one of our highest and most serious pleasures. Nor can I help observing, to the discredit of such merriment, that it is commonly the last resource of impotent wit, the weak strainings of the lowest, silliest, and dullest fellows in the world.

Sixthly; You are to avoid knowingly mentioning any thing which may revive in any person the remembrance of some past accident; or raise an uneasy reflection on a present misfortune, or corporal blemish. To maintain this rule nicely, perhaps, requires great delicacy; but it is absolutely necessary to a well-bred man. I have observed numberless breaches of it; many, I believe, proceeding from negligence and inadvertency; yet I am afraid some may be too justly imputed to a malicious desire of triumphing in our own superior happiness and perfections: now, when it proceeds from this motive, it is not easy to imagine any thing more criminal.

Under this head, I shall caution my well-bred reader against a common fault, much of the same nature; which is, mentioning any particular quality as absolutely essential either to man or woman, and exploding all those who want it. This renders every one uneasy, who is in the least self-conscious of the defect. I have heard a boor of fashion declare in the presence of women remarkably plain, that beauty was the chief perfection of that sex; and an essential, without which no woman was worth regarding. A certain method of putting all those in the room, who are but suspicious of their defect that way, out of countenance.

I shall

I shall mention one fault more, which is, not paying a proper regard to the present temper of the company, or the occasion of their meeting, in introducing a topic of conversation, by which as great an absurdity is sometimes committed, as it would be to sing a dirge at a wedding, or an epithalamium at a funeral.

Thus I have, I think, enumerated most of the principal errors which we are apt to fall into in conversation; and though, perhaps, some particulars worthy of remark may have escaped me, yet an attention to what I have here said, may enable the reader to discover them. At least I am persuaded, that if the rules I have now laid down were strictly observed, our conversation would be more perfect, and the pleasure resulting from it purer, and more unfulfilled, than at present it is.

But I must not dismiss this subject without some animadversions on a particular species of pleasantry, which, though I am far from being desirous of banishing from conversation, requires, most certainly, some reins to govern, and some rules to direct it. The reader may perhaps guess, I mean Raillery; to which I may apply the fable of the lap-dog and the ass: for while in some hands it diverts and delights us with its dexterity and gentleness; in others, it paws, daubs, offends, and hurts.

The end of conversation being the happiness of mankind, and the chief means to procure their delight and pleasure; it follows, I think, that nothing can conduce to this end, which tends to make a man uneasy and dissatisfied with himself, or which exposes him to the scorn and contempt of others. I here except that kind of raillery, therefore, which is concerned in tossing men out of their chairs, tumbling them into water, or any of those handicraft jokes which are exercised on those notable persons, commonly known by the name of buffoons; who are contented to feed their belly at the price of their br—ch, and to carry off the wine and the p—s of a great man together. This I pass by, as well as all remarks on the genius of the great men themselves, who are (to
fetch

fetch a phrase from school, a place not improperly mentioned on this occasion) great dabs at this kind of facetiousness.

But leaving all such persons to expose human nature among themselves, I shall recommend to my well-bred man, who aims at raillery, the excellent character given of Horace by Persius :

*Omne vaser vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit, et admissus circum præcordia ludit,
Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso :*

Thus excellently rendered by the late ingenious translator of that obscure author :

- ‘ Yet could shrewd Horace, with disportive wit,
- ‘ Rally his friend, and tickle while he bit :
- ‘ Winning access, he play’d around the heart,
- ‘ And, gently touching, prick’d the tainted part.
- ‘ The crowd he sneer’d ; but sneer’d with such a
‘ grace,
- ‘ It pass’d for downright innocence of face.’

The raillery which is consistent with good-breeding, is a gentle animadversion on some foible ; which, while it raises a laugh in the rest of the company, doth not put the person rallied out of countenance, or expose him to shame and contempt. On the contrary, the jest should be so delicate, that the object of it should be capable of joining in the mirth it occasions.

All great vices therefore, misfortunes, and notorious blemishes of mind or body, are improper subjects of raillery. Indeed, a hint at such is an abuse, and an affront which is sure to give the person (unless he be one shameless and abandoned) pain and uneasiness, and should be received with contempt, instead of applause, by all the rest of the company.

Again ; the nature and quality of the person are to be considered. As to the first, some men will not bear any raillery at all. I remember a gentleman, who declared, ‘ He never made a jest, nor would

‘ever take one.’ I do not, indeed, greatly recommend such a person for a companion; but, at the same time, a well-bred man, who is to consult the pleasure and happiness of the whole, is not at liberty to make any present uneasy. By the quality, I mean the sex, degree, profession, and circumstances; on which head I need not be very particular. With regard to the two former, all raillery on ladies and superiors should be extremely fine and gentle; and with respect to the latter, any of the rules I have above laid down, most of which are to be applied to it, will afford sufficient caution.

Lastly, A consideration is to be had of the persons before whom we rally. A man will be justly uneasy at being reminded of those railleries in one company, which he would very patiently bear the imputation of in another. Instances on this head are so obvious, that they need not be mentioned. In short, the whole doctrine of raillery is comprised in this famous line:

‘*Quid de quoque viro, et cui dicas, sæpe caveto.*

‘Be cautious *what* you say, *of whom*, and *to whom*.’

And now, methinks, I hear some one cry out, that such restrictions are, in effect, to exclude all raillery from conversation: and, to confess the truth, it is a weapon from which many persons will do wisely in totally abstaining; for it is a weapon which doth the more mischief, by how much more the blunter it is. The sharpest wit therefore is only to be indulged the free use of it; for no more than a very slight touch is to be allowed; no hacking, nor bruising, as if they were to hew a carcase for hounds, as Shakespeare phrases it.

Nor is it sufficient that it be sharp; it must be used likewise with the utmost tenderness and good-nature: and as the nicest dexterity of a gladiator is shewn in being able to hit without cutting deep, so is this of our raillier, who is rather to tickle than wound.

True raillery indeed consists either in playing on peccadillo's, which, however they may be censured

by some, are not esteemed as really blemishes in a character in the company where they are made the subject of mirth; as too much freedom with the bottle, or too much indulgence with women, &c.

Or, secondly, in pleasantly representing real good qualities in a false light of shame, and bantering them as ill ones. So generosity may be treated as prodigality; œconomy as avarice; true courage as fool-hardiness; and so of the rest.

Lastly; in ridiculing men for vices and faults which they are known to be free from. Thus the cowardise of A——le, the dulness of Ch——d, the unpoliteness of D——ton, may be attacked without danger of offence; and thus Lyt——n may be censured for whatever vice or folly you please to impute to him.

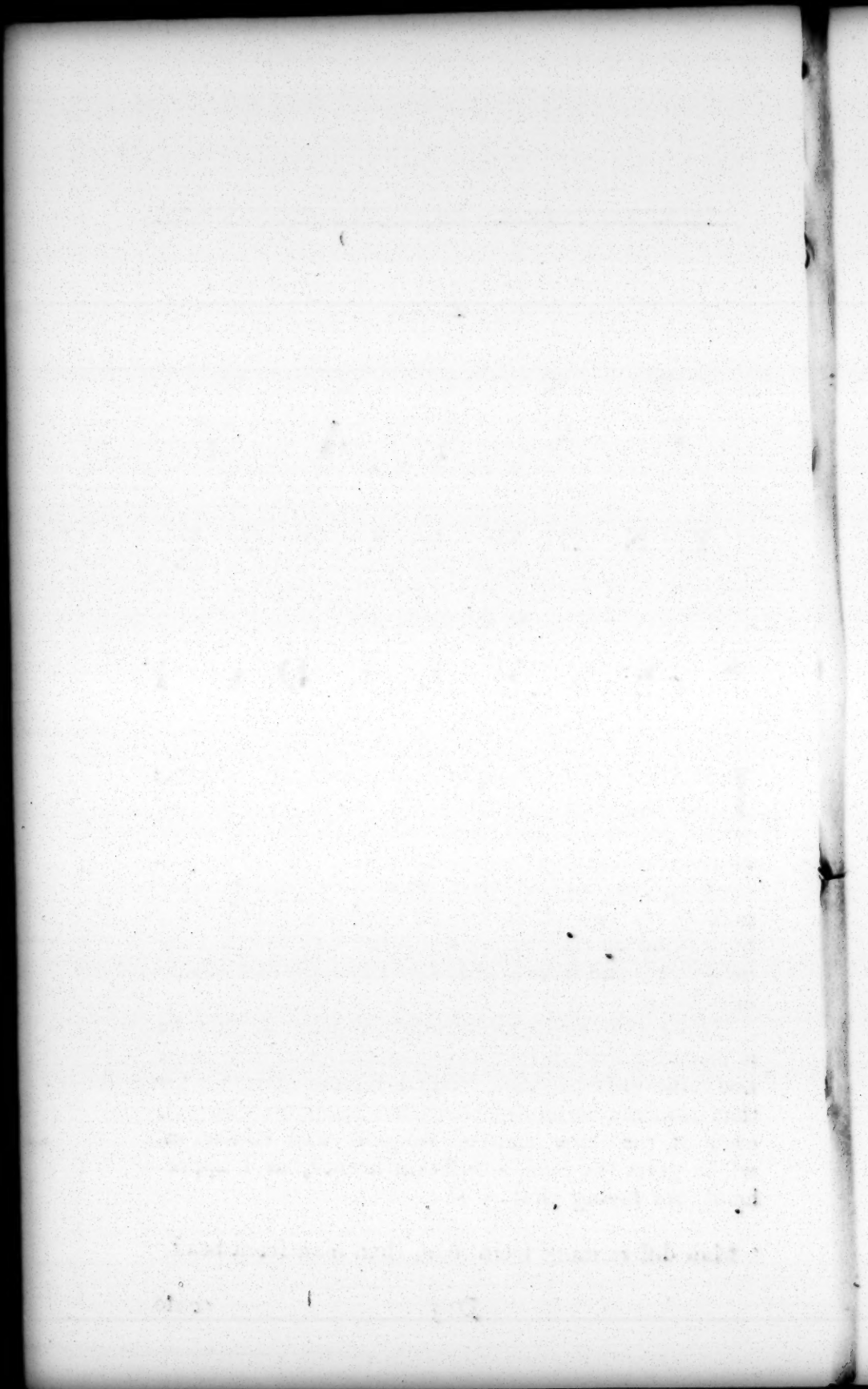
And however limited these bounds may appear to some, yet, in skilful and witty hands, I have known raillery, thus confined, afford a very diverting, as well as inoffensive entertainment to the whole company.

I shall conclude this essay with these two observations, which I think may be clearly deduced from what hath been said.

First, That every person who indulges his ill-nature or vanity, at the expence of others, and in introducing uneasiness, vexation, and confusion into society, however exalted or high-titled he may be, is thoroughly ill-bred.

Secondly, That whoever, from the goodness of his disposition or understanding, endeavours to his utmost to cultivate the good-humour and happiness of others, and to contribute to the ease and comfort of all his acquaintance, however low in rank Fortune may have placed him, or however clumsy he may be in his figure or demeanor, hath, in the truest sense of the word, a claim to good-breeding.

AN
E S S A Y
ON THE
K N O W L E D G E
OF THE
CHARACTERS of MEN.



A N
E S S A Y
O N T H E
K N O W L E D G E
O F T H E
C H A R A C T E R S of M E N.

I HAVE often thought it a melancholy instance of the great depravity of human nature, that whilst so many men have employed their utmost abilities to invent systems, by which the artful and cunning part of mankind may be enabled to impose on the rest of the world; few or none should have stood up the champions of the innocent and undefigning, and have endeavoured to arm them against imposition.

Those who predicate of man in general, that he is an animal of this or that disposition, seem to me not sufficiently to have studied human nature; for that immense variety of characters so apparent in men, even of the same climate, religion, and education, which gives the poet a sufficient licence, as I apprehend, for saying that,

' Man differs more from man, than man from beast,'

could hardly exist, unless the distinction had some original foundation in nature itself. Nor is it perhaps a less proper predicament of the genius of a tree, that it will flourish so many years, loves such a soil, bears such a fruit, &c. than of man in general, that he is good, bad, fierce, tame, honest, or cunning.

This original difference will, I think, alone account for that very early and strong inclination to good or evil, which distinguishes different dispositions in children, in their first infancy; in the most uninformed savages, who can be thought to have altered their nature by no rules, nor artfully acquired habits; and lastly, in persons who from the same education, &c. might be thought to have directed Nature the same way; yet, among all these, there subsists, as I have before hinted, so manifest and extreme a difference of inclination or character, that almost oblige us, I think, to acknowledge some unacquired, original distinction, in the nature or soul of one man, from that of another.

Thus, without asserting in general, that man is a deceitful animal; we may, I believe, appeal for instances of deceit to the behaviour of some children and savages. When this quality therefore is nourished and improved by education, in which we are taught rather to conceal vices, than to cultivate virtues; when it hath sucked in the instruction of politicians, and is instituted in the art of thriving, it will be no wonder that it should grow to that monstrous height to which we sometimes see it arrive. This Art of thriving being the very reverse of that doctrine of the stoics; by which men were taught to consider themselves as fellow-citizens of the world, and to labour jointly for the common good, without any private distinction of their own: whereas this, on the contrary, points out to every individual his own particular and separate advantage, to which he is to sacrifice the interest of all others; which he is to consider as his *summum bonum*, to pursue with his utmost diligence and industry,
and

and to acquire by all means whatever. Now when this noble end is once established, deceit must immediately suggest itself as the necessary means: for as it is impossible that any man endowed with rational faculties, and being in a state of freedom, should willingly agree, without some motive of love or friendship, absolutely to sacrifice his own interest to that of another; it becomes necessary to impose upon him, to persuade him, that his own good is designed, and that he will be a gainer by coming into those schemes, which are, in reality, calculated for his destruction. And this, if I mistake not, is the very essence of that excellent art, called The Art of Politics.

Thus while the crafty and designing part of mankind, consulting only their own separate advantage, endeavour to maintain one constant imposition on others, the whole work becomes a vast masquerade, where the greatest part appear disguised under false vizors and habits; a very few only shewing their own faces, who become, by so doing, the astonishment and ridicule of all the rest.

But however cunning the disguise be which a masquerader wears; however foreign to his age, degree, or circumstance, yet, if closely attended to, he very rarely escapes the discovery of an accurate observer: for nature, which unwillingly submits to the imposture, is ever endeavouring to peep forth and shew herself; nor can the cardinal, the friar, or the judge, long conceal the sot, the gamester, or the rake.

In the same manner will those disguises which are worn on the greater stage, generally vanish, or prove ineffectual to impose the assumed for the real character upon us, if we employ sufficient diligence and attention in the scrutiny. But as this discovery is of infinitely greater consequence to us; and as, perhaps, all are not equally qualified to make it; I shall venture to set down some few rules, the efficacy (I had almost said infallibility) of which, I have myself experienced. Nor need any man be ashamed of wanting or receiving instructions on this head; since that open disposition,

disposition, which is the surest indication of an honest and upright heart, chiefly renders us liable to be imposed on by craft and deceit, and principally disqualifies us for this discovery.

Neither will the reader, I hope, be offended, if he should here find no observations entirely new to him. Nothing can be plainer, or more known, than the general rules of morality; and yet thousands of men are thought well employed in reviving our remembrance, and enforcing our practice of them. But though I am convinced there are many of my readers, whom I am not capable of instructing on this head, and who are, indeed, fitter to give than receive instructions, at least from me, yet this essay may perhaps be of some use to the young and unexperienced, to the more open, honest, unconsidering part of mankind, who, either from ignorance or inattention, are daily exposed to all the pernicious designs of that detestable friend, hypocrisy.

I will proceed therefore, without further preface, to those diagnostics which nature, I apprehend, gives us of the diseases of the mind, seeing she takes such pains to discover those of the body. And first, I doubt whether the old adage of *Fronti nulla fides*, be generally well understood: the meaning of which is commonly taken to be, that "no trust is to be given to the countenance." But what is the context in Juvenal?

— *Quis enim non vicus abundat
Tristibus obscænis?*

— 'What place is not filled with
' austere libertines?'

Now that an austere countenance is no token of purity of heart, I readily concede. So far otherwise, it is perhaps rather a symptom of the contrary. But the satyrists surely never intended by these words, which have grown into a proverb, utterly to depreciate an art on which so wise a man as Aristotle hath thought proper to compose a treatise.

The

The truth is, we almost universally mistake the symptoms which nature kindly holds forth to us ; and err as grossly as a physician would, who should conclude that a very high pulse is a certain indication of health : but sure the faculty would rather impute such a mistake to his deplorable ignorance, than conclude from it, that the pulse could give a skilful and sensible observer no information of the patient's distemper.

In the same manner, I conceive, the passions of men do commonly imprint sufficient marks on the countenance ; and it is owing chiefly to want of skill in the observer, that physiognomy is of so little use and credit in the world.

But our errors in this disquisition would be little wondered at, if it was acknowledged, that the few rules which generally prevail on this head are utterly false, and the very reverse of truth. And this will perhaps appear, if we condescend to the examination of some particulars. Let us begin with the instance given us by the poet above, of austerity ; which, as he shews us, was held to indicate a chastity or severity of morals, the contrary of which, as himself shews us, is true.

Among us, this austerity, or gravity of countenance, passes for wisdom with just the same equity of pretension. My Lord Shaftesbury tells us, that gravity is of the essence of imposture. I will not venture to say, that it certainly denotes folly, though I have known some of the silliest fellows in the world very eminently possessed of it. The affections which it indicates, and which we shall seldom err in suspecting to ly under it, are pride, ill-nature, and cunning. Three qualities, which when we know to be inherent in any man, we have no reason to desire any further discovery to instruct us, to deal as little and as cautiously with him as we are able.

But though the world often pays a respect to these appearances which they do not deserve ; they rather attract admiration than love, and inspire us rather with awe than confidence. There is a countenance of a contrary kind, which hath been called a letter of commendation ; which throws our arms
open

open to receive the poison, divests us of all kind of apprehension, and disarms us of all caution: I mean that glavering sneering smile, of which the greater part of mankind are extremely fond, conceiving it to be the sign of good nature; whereas this is generally a compound of malice and fraud, and as surely indicates a bad heart, as a galloping pulse doth a fever.

Men are chiefly betrayed into this deceit, by a gross but common mistake of good-humour for good-nature; two qualities so far from bearing any resemblance to each other, that they are almost opposites. Good-nature is that benevolent and amiable temper of mind which disposes us to feel the misfortunes, and enjoy the happiness of others; and consequently pushes us on to promote the latter, and prevent the former; and that without any abstract contemplation on the beauty of virtue, and without the allurements or terrors of religion. Now good-humour is nothing more than the triumph of the mind, when reflecting on its own happiness, and that, perhaps, from having compared it with the inferior happiness of others.

If this be allowed, I believe we may admit that glavering smile, whose principal ingredient is malice, to be the symptom of good humour. And here give me leave to define this word malice, as I doubt whether it be not in common speech so often confounded with envy, that common readers may not have very distinct ideas between them. But as envy is a repining at the good of others, compared with our own, so malice is a rejoicing at their evil, on the same comparison. And thus it appears to have a very close affinity to that malevolent disposition, which I have above described under the word good humour: for nothing is truer than that observation of Shakespeare:

—' A man may smile, and smile, and be a villain.'

But how alien must this countenance be to that heavenly frame of soul, of which Jesus Christ himself was the most perfect pattern! of which blessed person it is recorded, that he never was once seen to laugh,
during

during his whole abode on earth. And what indeed hath good nature to do with a smiling countenance? It would be like a purse in the hands of a miser, which he could never use. For admitting, that laughing at the vices and follies of mankind is entirely innocent (which is more perhaps than we ought to admit), yet surely their miseries and misfortunes are no subjects of mirth: and with these, *Quis non vicus abundat?* the world is so full of them, that scarce a day passes without inclining a truly good-natured man rather to tears than merriment.

Mr Hobbes tells us, that laughter arises from pride which is far from being a good-natured passion. And though I would not severely discountenance all indulgence of it, since laughter, while confined to vice and folly, is no very cruel punishment on the object, and may be attended with good consequences to him; yet we shall, I believe, find, on a careful examination into its motive, that it is not produced from good-nature. But this is one of the first efforts of the mind, which few attend to, or, indeed, are capable of discovering; and however self-love may make us pleased with seeing a blemish in another which we are ourselves free from, yet compassion on the first reflection of any unhappiness in the object, immediately puts a stop to it in good minds. For instance; suppose a person well drest should tumble in a dirty place in the street; I am afraid there are few who would not laugh at the accident: now what is this laughter other than a convulsive extasy, occasioned by the contemplation of our own happiness, compared with the unfortunate person's! a pleasure which seems to favour of ill nature: but as this is one of those first, and as it were spontaneous motions of the soul, which few, as I have said, attend to, and none can prevent; so it doth not properly constitute the character. When we come to reflect on the uneasiness this person suffers, laughter, in a good and delicate mind, will begin to change itself into compassion; and in proportion as this latter operates on us, we may be said to have more or less good-nature: but should any fatal consequence, such as a violent bruise, or the breaking of

of a bone, attend the fall, the man who should still continue to laugh, would be entitled to the basest and vilest appellation with which any language can stigmatize him.

From what hath been said, I think we may conclude, that a constant, settled, glowering, sneering smile in the countenance, is so far from indicating goodness, that it may be with much confidence depended on as an assurance of the contrary.

But I would not be understood here to speak with the least regard to that amiable, open, composed, chearful aspect, which is the result of a good conscience, and the emanation of a good heart; of both which it is an infallible symptom; and may be the more depended on, as it cannot, I believe, be counterfeited, with any reasonable resemblance, by the nicest power of art.

Neither have I any eye towards that honest, hearty loud chuckle, which shakes the sides of aldermen and squires, without the least provocation of a jest; proceeding chiefly from a full belly; and is a symptom (however strange it may seem) of a very gentle and inoffensive quality, called dulness, than which nothing is more risible; for as Mr Pope, with exquisite pleiantry, says;

——‘ Gentle Dulness ever loves a joke:’

i. e. one of her own jokes. These are sometimes performed by the foot; as by leaping over heads, or chairs, or tables, kicks in the b—ch, &c. sometimes by the hand; as by slaps in the face, pulling off wigs, and infinite other dexterities, too tedious to particularize; sometimes by the voice, as by hollowing, huzzaing, and singing merry (*i. e.* dull) catches, by merry (*i. e.* dull) fellows.

Lastly; I do by no means hint at the various laughs, titters, tehes, &c. of the fair sex, with whom, indeed, this essay hath not any thing to do; the knowledge of the characters of women being foreign to my intended purpose; as it is in fact a science, to which I make not the least pretension.

The

The smile, or sneer, which composes the countenance I have above endeavoured to describe, is extremely different from all these: but as I have already dwelt pretty long on it, and as my reader will not, I apprehend, be liable to mistake it, I shall wind up my caution to him against this symptom, in part of a line of Horace:

——*Hic niger est; hunc tu — caveto.*

There is one countenance, which is the plainest instance of the general misunderstanding of that adage, *fronti nulla fides*. This is a fierce aspect, which hath the same right to signify courage, as gravity to denote wisdom, or a smile good-nature; whereas experience teaches us the contrary, and it passes among most men for the symptom only of a bully.

But I am aware, that I shall be reminded of an assertion which I set out with in the beginning of this essay, *viz.* “That nature gives us as sure symptoms of the diseases of the mind as the doth of those of the “body.” To which, what I have now advanced may seem a contradiction. The truth is, nature doth really imprint sufficient marks in the countenance, to inform an accurate and discerning eye; but as such is the property of few, the generality of mankind mistake the affectation for the reality: for as affectation always over-acts her part, it fares with her as with a farcical actor on the stage, whose monstrous overdone grimaces are sure to catch the applause of an insensible audience; while the truest and finest strokes of nature, represented by a judicious and just actor, pass unobserved and disregarded. In the same manner, the true symptoms, being finer and less glaring, make no impression on our physiognomist; while the grosser appearances of affectation are sure to attract his eye, and deceive his judgment. Thus that sprightly and penetrating look, which is almost a certain token of understanding; that cheerful composed serenity, which always indicates good-nature; and that fiery cast of the eyes, which is ever accompanied with courage, are often over-looked: while a formal, stately,

ly, austere gravity; a glowering fawning smile, and a strong contraction of the muscles, pass generally on the world for the virtues they only endeavour to affect.

But as these rules are, I believe, none of them without some exceptions; as they are of no use but to an observer of much penetration; lastly, as a more subtle hypocrisy will sometimes escape undiscovered from the highest discernment; let us see if we have not a more infallible guide to direct us to the knowledge of men; one more easily to be attained, and on the efficacy of which we may with the greatest certainty rely.

And surely the actions of men seem to be the justest interpreters of their thoughts, and the truest standards by which we may judge them. *By their fruits you shall know them*, is a saying of great wisdom, as well as authority. And, indeed, this is so certain a method of acquiring the knowledge I contend for, that, at first appearance, it seems absolutely perfect, and to want no manner of assistance.

There are, however, two causes of our mistakes on this head; and which lead us into forming very erroneous judgments of men, even while their actions stare us in the face, and as it were hold a candle to us, by which we may see into them.

The first of these is when we take their own words against their actions. This (if I may borrow another illustration from physic) is no less ridiculous, than it would be in a learned professor of that art, when he perceives his light-headed patient is in the utmost danger, to take his word that he is well. This error is infinitely more common than its extreme absurdity would persuade us was possible. And many a credulous person hath been ruined by trusting to the assertions of another, who must have preserved himself, had he placed a wiser confidence in his actions.

The second is an error still more general. This is when we take the colour of a man's actions, not from their own visible tendency, but from his public character: when we believe what others say of him, in opposition to what we see him do. How often do we suffer ourselves to be deceived, out of the credit of a
fact

fact, or out of a just opinion of its heinousness, by the reputed dignity or honesty of the person who did it! how common are such ejaculations as these! "O it is impossible he should be guilty of any such thing! he must have done it by mistake; he could not design it. I will never believe any ill of him. So good a man! &c." when, in reality, the mistake lies only in his character. Nor is there any more simple, unjust, and insufficient method of judging mankind, than by public estimation, which is oftner acquired by deceit, partiality, prejudice, and such like, than by real desert. I will venture to affirm, that I have known some of the best sort of men in the world (to use the vulgar phrase) who would not have scrupled cutting a friend's throat; and a fellow, whom no man should be seen to speak to, capable of the highest acts of friendship and benevolence.

Now it will be necessary to divest ourselves of both these errors, before we can reasonably hope to attain any adequate knowledge of the true characters of men. Actions are their own best expositors: and though crimes may admit of alleviating circumstances, which may properly induce a judge to mitigate the punishment; from the motive, for instance, as necessity may lessen the crime of robbery, when compared to wantonness or vanity; or from some circumstance attending the fact itself, as robbing a stranger or an enemy, compared with committing it on a friend or benefactor; yet the crime is still robbery, and the person who commits it is a robber; though he should pretend to have done it with a good design, or the world should concur in calling him an honest man.

But I am aware of another objection which may be made to my doctrine, *viz.* admitting that the actions of men are the surest evidence of their character, that this knowledge comes too late; that it is to caution us against a highwayman after he hath plundered us, or against an incendiary, after he hath fired our house:

To which I answer, that it is not against force, but deceit, which I am here seeking for armour; against those who can injure us only by obtaining our good opinion. If therefore I can instruct my reader from

what sort of persons he is to with-hold this opinion, and inform him of all, or at least the principal arts by which deceit proceeds to ingratiate itself with us, by which he will be effectually enabled to defeat its purpose, I shall have sufficiently satisfied the design of this essay.

And here, the first caution I shall give him is against flattery, which I am convinced no one uses, without some design on the person flattered. I remember to have heard of a certain nobleman, who, though he was an immoderate lover of receiving flattery himself, was so far from being guilty of this vice to others, that he was remarkably free in telling men their faults. A friend, who had his intimacy, one day told him, he wondered that he who loved flattery better than any man living, did not return a little of it himself, which he might be sure would bring him back such plentiful interest. To which he answered, though he admitted the justness of the observation, he could never think of giving away what he was so extremely covetous of. Indeed, whoever knows any thing of the nature of men, how greedy they are of praise, and how backward in bestowing it on others; that it is a debt seldom paid, even to the greatest merit, till we are compelled to it, may reasonably conclude, that this profusion, this voluntary throwing it away on those who do not deserve it, proceeds, as Martial says of a beggar's present, from some other motive than generosity or good-will.

But, indeed, there are few whose vanity is so foul a feeder, to digest flattery, if undisguised: it must impose on us, in order to allure us: before we can relish it, we must call it by some other name; such as, a just esteem of, and respect for, our real worth; a debt due to our merit, and not a present to our pride.

Suppose it should be really so, and we should have all those great or good qualities which are extolled in us; yet considering, as I have said above, with what reluctance such debts are paid, we may justly suspect some design in the person who so readily and forwardly offers it to us. It is well observed, that we do not attend, without uneasiness, to praises in which
we

we have no concern: much less shall we be eager to utter and exaggerate the praise of another, without some expectation from it.

A flatterer therefore is a just object of our distrust, and will, by prudent men, be avoided.

Next to the flatterer is the professor, who carries his affection to you still farther; and, on a slight or no acquaintance, embraces, hugs, kisses, and vows the greatest esteem for your person, parts, and virtues. To know whether this friend is sincere, you have only to examine into the nature of friendship, which is always founded either on esteem or gratitude, or perhaps on both. Now esteem, admitting every requisite for its formation present, and these are not a few, is of very slow growth; it is an involuntary affection, rather apt to give us pain than pleasure, and therefore meets with no encouragement in our minds, which it creeps into by small and almost imperceptible degrees; and, perhaps, when it hath got an absolute possession of us, may require some other ingredient to engage our friendship to its own object. It appears then pretty plain, that this mushroom passion here mentioned, owes not its origin to esteem. Whether it can possibly flow from gratitude, which may indeed produce it more immediately, you will more easily judge; for though there are some minds whom no benefits can inspire with gratitude, there are more, I believe, who conceive this affection without even a supposed obligation. If therefore you can assure yourself it is impossible he should imagine himself obliged to you, you may be satisfied that gratitude is not the motive to his friendship. Seeing then that you can derive it from neither of these fountains, you may well be justified in suspecting its falshood; and if so, you will act as wisely in receiving it into your heart, as he doth who knowingly lodges a viper in his bosom, or a thief in his house. 'Forgive the acts of your enemies,' hath been thought the highest maxim of morality: 'Fear the professions of your friends,' is perhaps the wisest.

The third character against which an open heart should be alarmed, is a Promiser, one who rises another step in friendship. The man who is wantonly

profuse of his promises ought to sink his credit as much as a tradesman would by uttering a great number of promissory notes, payable at a distant day. The truest conclusion in both cases is, that neither intend, or will be able, to pay. And as the latter most probably intends to cheat you of your money, so the former at least designs to cheat you of your thanks; and it is well for you, if he hath no deeper purpose, and that vanity is the only evil passion to which he destines you a sacrifice.

I would not be here understood to point at the promises of political great men, which they are supposed to lie under a necessity of giving in great abundance; and the value of them is so well known, that few are to be imposed on by them. The professor I here mean, is he who on all occasions is ready, of his own head, and unasked, to promise favours. This is such another instance of generosity, as his who relieves his friend in distress, by a draught on * Aldgate pump. Of these there are several kinds; some who promise what they never intend to perform; others, who promise what they are not sure they can perform; and others again, who promise so many, that, like debtors, being not able to pay all their debts, they afterwards pay none.

The man who is inquisitive into the secrets of your affairs, with which he hath no concern, is another object of your caution. Men no more desire another's secrets, to conceal them, than they would another's purse, for the pleasure only of carrying it.

Nor is a slanderer less wisely to be avoided, unless you chuse to feast on your neighbour's faults, at the price of being served up yourself at the tables of others: for persons of this stamp are generally impartial in their abuse. Indeed, it is not always possible totally to escape them; for being barely known to them is a sure title to their calumny; but the more they are admitted to your acquaintance, the more you will be abused by them.

* A mercantile phrase for a bad note.

I fear the next character I shall mention may give offence to the grave part of mankind, for whose wisdom and honesty I have an equal respect; but I must, however, venture to caution my open-hearted reader against a saint. No honest and sensible man will understand me here, as attempting to declaim against sanctity of morals. The sanctity I mean, is that which flows from the lips, and shines in the countenance. It may be said, perhaps, that real sanctity may wear these appearances; and how shall we then distinguish, with any certainty, the true from the fictitious? I answer, that if we admit this to be possible, yet, as it is likewise possible that it may be only counterfeit, and as in fact it is so ninety-nine times in a hundred, it is better that one real saint should suffer a little unjust suspicion, than that ninety-nine villains should impose on the world, and be enabled to perpetrate their villainies under this mask.

But, to say the truth; a sour, morose, ill-natured, censorious sanctity, never is, nor can be sincere. Is a readiness to despise, to hate, and to condemn, the temper of a Christian? can he who passes sentence on the souls of men with more delight and triumph than the devil can execute it, have the impudence to pretend himself a disciple of one who died for the sins of mankind? Is not such a sanctity the true mark of that hypocrisy, which, in many places of scripture, and particularly in the twenty-third chapter of St Matthew, is so bitterly inveighed against?

As this is a most detestable character in society; and as its malignity is more particularly bent against the best and worthiest men, the sincere and open-hearted, whom it persecutes with inveterate envy and hatred, I shall take some pains in the ripping it up, and exposing the horrors of its inside, that we may all shun it; and at the same time will endeavour so plainly to describe its outside, that we shall hardly be liable, by any mistake, to fall into its snares.

With regard then to the inside (if I am allowed that expression) of this character, the scripture-writers have employed uncommon labour in dissecting it. Let us hear our Saviour himself, in the chapter above cited.

*It devours widows houses ; it makes its proselytes two-fold more the children of hell ; it omits the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith ; it strains * off a gnat, and swallows a camel ; it is full of extortion and excess.* St Paul, in his first Epistle to Timothy, says of them, *That they speak lies, and their conscience is seared with a red hot iron.* And in many parts of the Old Testament, as in Job ; *Let the hypocrite reign not, lest the people be ensnared :* And Solomon in his Proverbs ; *An hypocrite with his mouth destroyeth his neighbour.*

In these several texts, most of the enormities of this character are described : but there is one which deserves a fuller comment, as pointing at its very essence : I mean the thirteenth verse of the twenty-third chapter of St Matthew, where Jesus addresses himself thus to the Pharisees : *Hypocrites ; for ye shut up the kingdom of Heaven against men ; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.*

This is an admirable picture of sanctified hypocrisy, which will neither do good itself, nor suffer others to do it. But if we understand the text figuratively, we may apply it to that censorious quality of this vice, which as it will do nothing honestly to deserve reputation, so is it ever industrious to deprive others of the praises due to their virtues. It confines all merit to those external forms which are fully particularized in scripture ; of these it is itself a rigid observer ; hence it must derive all honour and reward in this world ; nay, and even in the next, if it can impose on itself so far as to imagine itself capable of cheating the Almighty, and obtaining any reward there.

Now a galley-slave, of an envious disposition, doth not behold a man free from chains, and at his ease,

* So is the Greek, which the translators have mistaken : they render it, *strain at a gnat*, i. e. struggle in swallowing ; whereas, in reality, the Greek word is, to strain through a cullender ; and the idea is, that tho' they pretend their consciences are so fine, that a gnat is with difficulty strained through them, yet they can, if they please, open them wide enough to admit a camel.

with more envy than persons in these fetters of sanctity view the rest of mankind; especially such as they behold without them entering into the kingdom of Heaven. These are indeed the objects of their highest animosity, and are always the surest marks of their detraction. Persons of more goodness than knowledge of mankind, when they are calumniated by these fains, are, I believe, apt to impute the calumny to an ignorance of their real character; and imagine, if they could better inform the said fains of their innate worth, they should be better treated by them; but alas, this is a total mistake: the more good a sanctified hypocrite knows of an open and an honest man, the more he envies and hates him, and the more ready he is to seize or invent an opportunity of detracting from his real merit.

But envy is not their only motive of hatred to good men; they are eternally jealous of being seen through, and consequently exposed, by them. A hypocrite in society lives in the same apprehension with a thief, who lies concealed in the midst of the family he is to rob: for this fancies himself perceived when he is least so; every motion alarms him; he fears he is discovered, and is suspicious that every one who enters the room, knows where he is hid, and is coming to seize him. And thus, as nothing hates more violently than fear, many an innocent person, who suspects no evil intended him, is detested by him who intends it.

Now in destroying the reputation of a virtuous and good man, the hypocrite imagines he hath disarmed his enemy of all weapons to hurt him; and therefore this sanctified hypocrisy is not more industrious to conceal its own vices, than to obscure and contaminate the virtues of others. As the business of such a man's life is to procure praise, by acquiring and maintaining an undeserved character; so is his utmost care employed to deprive those who have an honest claim to the character himself affects only, of all the emoluments which would otherwise arise to them from it.

The prophet Isaiah speaks of these people, where he says, *Woe unto them who call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light and light for*

for darkness, &c. In his sermon on which text, the witty Dr South hath these words.—“ *Detraction* “ is that killing poisonous arrow, drawn out of the “ devil’s quiver, which is always flying about, and “ doing execution in the dark: against which *no vir-* “ *tue is a defence, no innocence a security.* It is a wea- “ pon forged in hell, and formed by that prime arti- “ ficer and engineer, the devil; and none but that “ great God, who knows all things, and can do all “ things, can protect the best of men against it.”

To these likewise Martial alludes in the following lines :

*Ut bene loquatur sentiatque Mamercus,
Efficere nullis, Aule, moribus possis.*

I have been somewhat diffusive in the censorious branch of this character, as it is a very pernicious one; and (according to what I have observed) little known and attended to. I shall not describe all its other qualities. Indeed, there is no species of mischief which it doth not produce. For, not to mention the private villainies it daily transacts, most of the great evils which have affected society, wars, murders, and massacres, have owed their original to this abominable vice; which is the destroyer of the innocent, and protector of the guilty; which hath introduced all manner of evil into the world, and hath almost expelled every grain of good out of it. Doth it not attempt to cheat men into the pursuit of sorrow and misery, under the appearance of virtue, and to frighten them from mirth and pleasure, under the colour of vice, or, if you please, sin? Doth it not attempt to gild over that poisonous potion, made up of malevolence, austerity, and such cursed ingredients, while it embitters the delightful draught of innocent pleasure with the nauseous relish of fear and shame?

No wonder then that this malignant cursed disposition, which is the disgrace of human nature and the bane of society, should be spoken against with such remarkable bitterness, by the benevolent Author of our

our religion, particularly in the thirty-third verse of the above-cited chapter of St Matthew.

Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?

Having now dispatched the inside of this character, and, as I apprehend, said enough to make any one avoid, I am sure sufficient to make a Christian detest it, nothing remains but to examine the outside, in order to furnish honest men with sufficient rules to discover it. And in this we shall have the same divine guide, whom we have in the former part followed.

First, then, beware of that sanctified appearance, *that whited sepulchre, which looks beautiful outward, and is within full of all uncleanness. Those who make clean the outside of the platter, but within are full of extortion and excess.*

Secondly, Look well to those *who bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on mens shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.*

“ These heavy burdens (says Burket) were counsels and directions, rules and canons, austerities and severities, which the Pharisees introduced and imposed upon their hearers.” This requires no further comment: for, as I have before said, these hypocrites place all virtue, and all religion, in the observation of those austerities and severities, without which the truest and purest goodness will never receive their commendation: but how different this doctrine is from the temper of Christianity may be gathered by that total of all Christian morality, with which Jesus sums up the excellent precepts delivered in his divine sermon: *Therefore do unto all men as ye would they should do unto you: for this is the law and the prophets.*

Thirdly, Beware of all ostentation of virtue, goodness, or piety. By this ostentation, I mean that of the countenance and the mouth, or of some external forms. And this, I apprehend, is the meaning of Jesus, where he says, *They do their works to be seen of men*, as appears by the context; *They make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the border of their garments.* These phylacteries were

were certain scrowls of parchment, whereon were written the ten commandments, and particular parts of the Mosaic law, which they ostentatiously wore on their garments, thinking by that ceremony to fulfil the precept delivered to them in a verse of Deuteronomy, though they neglected to fulfil the laws they wore thus about them.

Another instance of their ostentation was—" making long prayers, *i. e.* (says Burket) making long prayers (or, perhaps, pretending to make them) in the temples and synagogues for widows, and thereupon persuading them to give bountifully to the corban, or the common treasure of the temple, some part of which was employed for their maintenance. Learn, 1. It is no *new* thing for designing hypocrites to cover the foulest transgression with the cloak of religion. The Pharisees make long prayers a cover for their covetousness. 2. That to make use of religion in policy for worldly advantage sake, is the way to be damned with a vengeance for religion sake."

Again, says Jesus—in *paying tithe of mint and anise and cummin, while they omit the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith.*

By which we are not to understand (nor would I be understood so to mean) any inhibition of paying the priest his dues; but, as my commentator observes, " an ostentation of a precise keeping the law in smaller matters, and neglecting weightier duties. They paid tythe of mint, anise, and cummin (*i. e.* of the minutest and most worthless things), but, at the same time, omitted judgment, mercy, and faith; that is, just dealing among men, charity towards the poor, and faithfulness in their promises and covenants one with another. *This*, says our Saviour, *is to strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel*: a proverbial expression, intimating, that some persons pretend great niceness and scrupulosity about small matters, and none, or but little, about duties of the greatest moment. Hence, note, That hypocrites lay the greatest stress upon the least matters in religion, and place holiness most in these things

" things where God places it least." *Ye tye the mint, &c. but neglect the weightier matters of the law.*
 " This is indeed the bane of all religion and true
 " piety, to prefer rituals and human institutions
 " before divine commands, and the practice of na-
 " tural religion. *Thus to do is a certain sign of gross*
 " *hypocrisy.*"

Nothing can, in fact, be more foreign to the nature of virtue than ostentation. It is truly said of virtue, that, could men behold her naked, they would be all in love with her. Here it is implied, that this is a sight very rare or difficult to come at; and, indeed, there is always a modest backwardness in true Virtue to expose her naked beauty. She is conscious of her innate worth, and little desirous of exposing it to the public view. It is the harlot Vice who constantly endeavours to set off the charms she counterfeits, in order to attract men's applause, and to work her sinister ends by gaining their admiration and their confidence.

I shall mention but one symptom more of this hypocrisy; and this is a readiness to censure the faults of others. *Judge not, says Jesus, lest you be judged.—* And again, *Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?* On which the above-mentioned commentator rightly observes, " That those who are
 " most censorious of the lesser infirmities of others,
 " are usually most notoriously guilty of far greater
 " failings themselves." This sanctified slander is, of all, the most severe, bitter, and cruel; and is so easily distinguished from that which is either the effect of anger or wantonness, and which I have mentioned before, that I shall dwell no longer upon it.

And here I shall dismiss my character of a sanctified hypocrite, with the honest wish which Shakespeare hath launched forth against an execrable villain:

—' That Heaven would put in every honest hand a
 ' whip,
 ' To lash the rascal naked through the world.'
 VOL. XII. F I have

I have now, I think, enumerated the principal methods by which deceit works its ends on easy, credulous, and open dispositions; and have endeavoured to point out the symptoms by which they may be discovered: but while men are blinded by vanity and self-love, and while artful hypocrisy knows how to adapt itself to their blind sides, and to humour their passions, it will be difficult for honest and undesigning men to escape the snares of cunning and imposition; I shall therefore recommend one more certain rule, and which, I believe, if duly attended to, would, in a great measure, extirpate all fallacy out of the world; or must at least so effectually disappoint its purposes, that it would soon be worth no man's while to assume it, and the character of knave and fool would be more apparently (what they are at present in reality) allied, or united.

This method is, carefully to observe the actions of men with others, and especially with those to whom they are allied in blood, marriage, friendship, profession, neighbourhood, or any other connexion: nor can you want an opportunity of doing this; for none but the weakest of men would rashly and madly place a confidence which may very materially affect him in any one, on a slight or no acquaintance.

Trace then the man proposed to your trust, into his private family and nearest intimacies. See whether he hath acted the part of a good son, brother, husband, father, friend, master, servant, &c. If he hath discharged these duties well, your confidence will have a good foundation; but if he hath behaved himself in these offices with tyranny, with cruelty, with infidelity, with inconstancy, you may be assured he will take the first opportunity his interest points out to him, of exercising the same ill talents at your expence.

I have often thought mankind would be little liable to deceit (at least much less than they are) if they would believe their own eyes, and judge of men by what they actually see them perform towards those with whom they are most closely connected: whereas, how common is it to persuade ourselves, that the undutiful, ungrateful son, the unkind or barbarous brother, or
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the man who is void of all tenderness, honour, or even humanity, to his wife or children, shall nevertheless become a sincere and faithful friend! but how monstrous a belief is it, that the person whom we find incapable of discharging the nearest duties of relation, whom no ties of blood or affinity can bind; nay, who is even deficient in that goodness which instinct infuses into the brute creation; that such a person should have a sufficient stock of virtue to supply the arduous character of honour and honesty! This is a credulity so absurd, that it admits of no aggravation.

Nothing indeed can be more unjustifiable to our prudence, than an opinion that the man whom we see act the part of a villain to others, should, on some minute change of person, time, place, or other circumstance, behave like an honest and just man to ourselves. I shall not here dispute the doctrine of repentance, any more than its tendency to the good of society; but as the actions of men are the best index to their thoughts, as they do, if well attended to and understood, with the utmost certainty demonstrate the character; and as we are not so certain of the sincerity of the repentance, I think we may with justice suspect, at least so far as to deny him our confidence, that a man whom we once knew to be a villain, remains a villain still.

And now let us see whether these observations, extended a little further, and taken into public life, may not help us to account for some phenomena, which have lately appeared in this hemisphere: for as a man's good behaviour to those with whom he hath the nearest and closest connexion is the best assurance to which a stranger can trust for his honest conduct in any engagement he shall enter into with him; so is a worthy discharge of the social offices of a private station, the strongest security which a man can give of an upright demeanour in any public trust, if his country shall repose it in him; and we may be well satisfied, that the most popular speeches, and most plausible pretences of one of a different character, are only gilded snares to delude us, and to sacrifice us, in some manner or other, to his own sinister purposes. It is

well said in one of Mr Pope's letters; 'How shalt a man love five millions, who could never love a single person?' If a man hath more love than what centers in himself, it will certainly light on his children, his relations, friends, and nearest acquaintance. If he extends it farther, what is it less than general philanthropy, or love to mankind? Now, as a good man loves his friend better than a common acquaintance; so philanthropy will operate stronger towards his own country than any other: but no man can have this general philanthropy who hath not private affection, any more than he who hath not strength sufficient to lift ten pounds, can at the same time be able to throw a hundred weight over his head. Therefore the bad son, husband, father, brother, friend; in a word, the bad man in private can never be a sincere patriot.

In Rome and Sparta I agree it was otherwise: for there patriotism, by education, became a part of the character. Their children were nursed in patriotism, it was taught them at an age when religion in all countries is first inculcated. And as we see men of all religions ready to lay down their lives for the doctrines of it (which they often do not know, and seldom have considered); so were these Spartans and Romans ready with as implicit faith to die for their country; though the private morals of the former were very depraved, and the latter were the public robbers of mankind.

Upon what foundation their patriotism then stood, seems pretty apparent, and perhaps there can be no surer. For, I apprehend, if twenty boys were taught from their infancy to believe, that the Royal Exchange was the kingdom of Heaven; and consequently inspired with a suitable awe for it; and, lastly, instructed that it was great, glorious, and god-like to defend it; nineteen of them would afterwards cheerfully sacrifice their lives to its defence; at least, it is impossible that any of them would agree, for a paltry reward, to set it on fire; not even though they were rogues and highwaymen in their disposition. But if you were admitted to chuse twenty of such dispositions
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at the age of manhood, who had never learnt any thing of its holiness, contracted any such awe, nor imbibed any such duty, I believe it would be difficult to bring them to venture their lives in its cause; nor should I doubt, could I persuade them of the security of the fact, of bribing them to apply the firebrand to any part of the building I pleased.

But a worthy citizen of London, without borrowing any such superstition from education, would scarce be tempted, by any reward, to deprive the city of so great an ornament, and what is so useful and necessary to its trade; at the same time to endanger the ruin of thousands, and perhaps the destruction of the whole.

The application seems pretty easy; that, as there is no such passion in human nature as patriotism, considered abstractedly, and by itself, it must be introduced by art, and that while the mind of man is yet soft and ductile, and the unformed character susceptible of any arbitrary impression you please to make on it: or, secondly, it must be founded on philanthropy, or universal benevolence; a passion which really exists in some natures, and which is necessarily attended with the excellent quality above mentioned: for as it seems granted, that the man cannot love a million who never could love a single person; so will it, I apprehend, appear as certain, that he who could not be induced to cheat or to destroy a single man, will never be prevailed on to cheat or to destroy many millions.

Thus I have endeavoured to shew the several methods by which we can propose to get any insight into the characters of those with whom we converse, and by which we may frustrate all the cunning and designs of hypocrisy. These methods I have shewn to be three-fold, *viz.* by the marks which nature hath imprinted on the countenance, by their behaviour to ourselves, and by their behaviour to others. On the first of these I have not much insisted, as liable to some uncertainty; and as the latter seem abundantly sufficient to secure us, with proper caution, against the subtle devices of hypo-

crisy, though she be the most cunning as well as malicious of all the vices which have ever corrupted the nature of man.

But however useless this treatise may be to instruct, I hope it will be at least effectual to alarm my reader; and sure no honest undesigning man can ever be too much on his guard against the hypocrite, or too industrious to expose and expel him out of society.

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T H E

Covent-Garden Journal;

By Sir ALEXANDER DRAWCANSIR, Knt.

CENSOR of GREAT-BRITAIN.

T H E

COVENT-GARDEN JOURNAL.

By Sir ALEXANDER DRAWCANSIR, Knt.

CENSOR OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

NUMB. 3. SATURDAY, January 11.

*Majores nusquam rhonci ; juvenesque, senesque,
Et pueri nasum rhinoceretis habent.* Martial.

In English.

*No town can such a gang of critics show,
Even boys turn up that nose they cannot blow.*

BY a record in the censor's office, and now in my custody, it appears, that at a censorial inquisition, taken *Trecefimo qto. Eliz.* by one of my illustrious predecessors, no more than nineteen critics were enrolled in the cities of London and Westminster; whereas at the last inquisition taken by myself, 25^o Geo. 2^{di}. the number of persons claiming a right to that order, appears to amount to 276302.

This immense increase is, I believe, to be no otherwise accounted for, than from the very blameable negligence of the late censors, who have, indeed, converted their office into a mere sinecure; no inquisition, as I can find, having been taken since the censorship of
of

of Isaac Bickerstaffe, Esq; in the latter end of the reign of Queen Anne.

To the same neglect are owing many encroachments on all the other orders of the society. That of gentlemen in particular, I observe to have greatly increased, and that of sharpers to have decreased in the same proportion, within these few years.

All these irregularities it is my firm purpose to endeavour at reforming, and to restore the high office with which I am invested to its ancient use and dignity. This, however, must be attempted with prudence and by slow degrees: for habitual and inveterate evils are to be cured by slow alteratives, and not by violent remedies. Of this the good emperor Pertinax will be a lasting example, "This worthy man," (says Dion Cassius) "perished by endeavouring too hastily to reform all the evils which infested his country. He knew not, it seems, though otherwise a man of very great knowledge, that it is not safe, nor indeed possible, to effect a reformation in too many matters at once. A rule which, if it holds true in private life, is much more so when it is applied to those evils that affect the public."

I thought it, therefore, not prudent, in the hurry of my above inquisition, to make any exceptions, but admitted all who offered to be enrolled. This is a method which I shall not pursue hereafter, being fully resolved to enquire into the qualifications of every pretender.

And that all persons may come prepared to prove their right to the order of critics, I shall here set down those several qualifications which will be insisted on before any will be admitted to that high honour. In doing this, however, I shall strictly pursue the excellent rule I have cited, and shall act with most perfect moderation; for I am willing to throw open the door as wide as I can, so that as few as possible may be rejected.

It is, I think, the sentiment of Quintilian, that no man is capable of becoming a good critic on a great poet, but he who is himself a great poet. This would, indeed, confine the critics on poetry, at least, to a

very

very small number; and would, indeed, strike all the antients, except only Horace and Longinus, off the roll; of the latter of whom, though he was no poet, Mr Pope finely says,

‘ Thee, great Longinus, all the Nine inspire,
 ‘ And bleis their critic with a poet’s fire.’

But, with respect to so great a name as that of Quintilian, this rule appears to me much too rigid. It seems, indeed, to be little less severe than an injunction that no man should criticize on cookery but he who was himself a cook.

To require what is generally called learning in a critic, is altogether as absurd as to require genius. Why should a man in this case, any more than in all others, be bound by any opinions but his own? Or why should he read by rule, any more than eat by it? If I delight in a slice of bullock’s liver or of Oldmixon, why shall I be confined to turtle or to Swift?

The only learning, therefore, that I insist upon, is, that my critic *be able to read*: and this is surely very reasonable: for I do not see how he can otherwise be called a reader; and if I include every reader in the name of critic, it is surely very just to confine every critic within the number of readers.

Nor do I only require the capacity of reading, but the actual exercise of that capacity; I do here strictly forbid any persons whatever to pass a definitive sentence on a book *before they have read at least ten pages in it*, under the penalty of being for ever rendered incapable of admission to the order of critics.

Thirdly, all critics who, from and after the first day of February next, shall condemn any book, shall be ready to give some reason for their judgment: nor shall it be sufficient for such critic to drivel out, “ I don’t know, not I; but all that I know is, I don’t like it.” Provided, nevertheless, that any reason how foolish or frivolous soever, shall be allowed a good and full justification; except only the words *poor stuff*, *wretched stuff*, *bad stuff*, *sad stuff*, *low stuff*, *paucity stuff*. All which *stuffs* I do for ever banish from the mouths of all critics.

Provided

Provided also, that the last-mentioned clause do extend only to such critics as openly proclaim their censures; for it is our intention, that all persons shall be at liberty to dislike privately whatever book they please, without understanding or reading one word of it, any thing therein or herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

But as it is reasonable to extend this power of judging for themselves no farther, in this case of criticism, than it is allowed to men in some others, I do here declare, that I shall not, for the future, admit any males to the office of criticism till they be of the full age of eighteen, that being the age when the laws allow them to have a capacity of disposing of personal chattles: for, before that time, they have only the power of disposing of themselves in the trifling article of marriage. Females, perhaps, I shall admit somewhat earlier, provided they be either witty or handsome, or have a fortune of five thousand pound and upwards.

Together with childhood, I exclude all other civil incapacities; and here I mean not only legal but real lunatics and ideots. In this number I include all persons who, from the whole tenour of their conduct, appear to be incapable of discerning good from bad, right from wrong, or wisdom from folly, in any instance whatever.

There are again some persons whom I shall admit only to a partial exercise of this office; as, for instance, rakes, beaux, sharpers, and fine ladies, are strictly forbidden, under penalty of perpetual exclusion, to presume to criticise on any works of religion or morality. All lawyers, physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, are strictly forbidden to pass any judgment on those authors who attempt any reformation in law, or physic. Officers of state, and would-be officers of state (honest men only excepted), with all their attendants and dependents, their placemen and would-be placemen, pimps, spies, parasites, informers, and agents, are forbidden, under the penalty aforesaid, to give their opinions of any work in which the good of the kingdom, in general, is designed to be advanced; but as for all pamphlets which anywise

concern the great cause of Woodal Out, and Takeall In, Esqs. full liberty is left to both parties, and the one may universally cry up and commend, and the other may universally censure and condemn, as usual. All critics offending against this clause, are to be deemed infamous; and their several criticisms are hereby declared to be entirely void, and of none effect.

No author is to be admitted into the order of critics, until he hath read over, and understood, Aristotle, Horace, and Longinus, in their original language; nor then without a testimonial that he hath spoken well of some living author besides himself.

Lastly, All persons are forbidden, under the penalty of our highest displeasure, to presume to criticise upon any of those works with which *we ourselves* shall think proper to oblige the public; and any person who shall presume to offend in this particular, will not only be expunged from the roll of critics, but will be degraded from any other order to which he shall belong; and his name will be forthwith entered in the records of Grub-street.

ALEXANDER DRAWCANSIR.

NUMB. 4. TUESDAY, January 14.

—*Nanum cujusdam Atlanta vocamus :
Æthiopem Cygnum : parvam extortamque puellum
Europen. Canibus pigris scabieque vetusta
Lævibus, et siccæ lambentibus ora lucernæ,
Nomen erit Pardus, Tigris, Leo; si quid adhuc est
Quod fremat in terris violentius.*—

Juv. Sat. viii.

‘ONE may observe,’ says Mr Locke, ‘in all languages, certain words, that, if they be examined, will be found, in their first original, and their appropriated use, not to stand for any clear and distinct ideas.’ Mr Locke gives us the instances of Wisdom, Glory, Grace. ‘Words which

- are frequent enough (says he) in every man's mouth ;
- but if a great many of those who use them, should be asked what they mean by them, they would be at a stand, and not know what to answer : a plain proof, that though they have learned those sounds,
- and have them ready at their tongue's end, yet
- there are no determined ideas laid up in their minds,
- which are to be expressed to others by them.'

Besides the several causes by him assigned of the abuse of words, there is one, which, though the great philosopher hath omitted it, seems to have contributed not a little to the introduction of this enormous evil. This is that privilege which divines and moral writers have assumed to themselves of doing violence to certain words, in favour of their own hypotheses, and of using them in a sense often directly contrary to that which custom (the absolute lord and master, according to Horace, of all the modes of speech) hath allotted them.

Perhaps, indeed, this fault may be seen in somewhat a milder light (and I would always see the blemishes of such writers in the mildest.) It may not, perhaps, be so justly owing to any designed opposition to custom, as a total ignorance of it ; an ignorance, which is almost inseparably annexed to a collegiate life, and which any man, indeed, may venture to own without blushing.

But whatever may be the cause of this abuse of words, the consequence is certainly very bad : for whilst the author and the world receive different ideas from the same words, it will be pretty difficult for them to comprehend each other's meaning ; and hence, perhaps, it is that so many gentlemen and ladies have contracted a general odium to all works of religion and morality, and that many others have been readers in this way all their lives without drawing from it any practical use.

It would, perhaps, be an office very worthy the labour of a good commentator to explain certain hard words, which frequently occur in the works of Barrow, Tillotson, Clark, and others of this kind. Such are Heaven, Hell, Judgment, Righteousness, Sin, &c. All which,

which, it is reasonable to believe, are at present very little understood.

Instead, however, of undertaking this task myself, at least at present, I shall apply the residue of this paper to the use of such writers only. I shall here give a short Glossary of such terms as are at present greatly in use, and shall endeavour to fix to each those exact ideas which are annexed to every of them in the world; for while the learned in colleges do, as I apprehend, consider them all in a very different light, their labours are not likely to do much service to the polite part of mankind.

A modern Glossary.

ANGEL. The name of a woman, commonly of a very bad one.

AUTHOR. A laughing-stock. It means likewise a poor fellow, and in general an object of contempt.

BEAR. A country gentleman; or, indeed, any animal upon two legs that doth not make a handsome bow.

BEAUTY. The qualification with which women generally go into keeping.

BEAU. With the article A before it, means a great favourite of all women.

BRUTE. A word implying plain-dealing and sincerity; but more especially applied to a philosopher.

CAPTAIN. { Any stick of wood with a head to it, and a piece of black ribband upon that head.

COLONEL. {

CREATURE. A quality expression of low contempt, properly confined only to the mouths of ladies who are Right honourable.

CRITIC. Like Homo, a name common to all human race.

COXCOMB. A word of reproach, and yet, at the same time, signifying all that is most commendable.

DAMNATION. A term appropriated to the theatre; though

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though sometimes more largely applied to all works of invention.

DEATH. The final end of man; as well of the thinking part of the body, as of all the other parts.

DRESS. The principal accomplishment of men and women.

DULNESS. A word applied by all writers to the wit and humour of others.

EATING. A science.

FINE. An adjective of a very peculiar kind, destroying, or at least lessening, the force of the substantive to which it is joined; as fine gentleman, fine lady, fine house, fine cloaths, fine taste; — in all which Fine is to be understood in a sense somewhat synonymous with Useless.

FOOL. A complex idea, compounded of poverty, honesty, piety, and simplicity.

GALLANTRY. Fornication and adultery.

GREAT. Applied to a thing, signifies bigness; when to a man, often littleness, or meanness.

GOOD. A word of as many different senses as the Greek word *Εχω*, or as the Latin *Agro*: for which reason it is but little used by the polite.

HAPPINESS. Grandeur.

HONOUR. Duelling.

HUMOUR. Scandalous lies, tumbling and dancing on the rope.

JUDGE. }
JUSTICE. } An old woman.

KNAVE. The name of four cards in every pack.

KNOWLEDGE. In general means knowledge of the town; as this is, indeed, the only kind of knowledge ever spoken of in the polite world.

LEARNING. Pedantry.

LOVE. A word properly applied to our delight in particular kinds of food; sometimes metaphorically spoken of the favourite objects of all our appetites.

MARRIAGE. A kind of traffic carried on between the two sexes, in which both are constantly endeavouring to cheat each other, and both are commonly losers in the end.

MISC HIEF.

MISCHIEF. Fun, sport, or pastime.

MODESTY. Awkwardness, rusticity.

NO-BODY. All the people in Great-Britain, except about 1200.

NONSENSE. Philosophy, especially the philosophical writings of the ancients, and more especially of Aristotle.

OPPORTUNITY. The season of cuckoldom.

PATRIOT. A candidate for a place at court.

POLITICS. The art of getting such a place.

PROMISE. Nothing.

RELIGION. A word of no meaning; but which serves as a bugbear to frighten children with.

RICHERS. The only thing upon earth that is really valuable, or desirable.

ROGUE. } A man of a different party from your-
RASCAL. } self.

SERMON. A sleeping dose.

SUNDAY. The best time for playing at cards.

SHOCKING. An epithet which fine ladies apply to almost every thing. It is, indeed, an interjection (if I may so call it) of delicacy.

TEMPERANCE. Want of spirit.

TASTE. The present whim of the town, whatever it be.

TEASING. Advice; chiefly that of a husband.

VIRTUE. } Subjects of discourse.
VICE. }

WIT. Prophaneness, indecency, immorality, scurrility, mimicry, buffoonry. Abuse of all good men, and especially of the clergy.

WORTH. Power. Rank. Wealth.

WISDOM. The art of acquiring all three.

WORLD. Your own acquaintance.

NUMB. 8. TUESDAY, January 28.

*Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopole,
Mendici, mimi, balatrones, hoc genus omne.*

HOR.

*A motley mixture' in long wigs, in bags,
In silks, in crapes, in garters, and in rags.*
Dunciad.

THE following is a literal copy of the fragment mentioned in my sixth paper. In what language it was originally writ, is impossible to determine. To determine this would be, indeed, to ascertain who these Robinhoodians were; a point, as we shall shew in our comment, of the utmost difficulty. From the apparent difference in the style and spelling of the translation, it seems to have been done into English by several hands, and probably in distant ages. I have placed my conjectures concerning some doubtful words, at the bottom of the page, without venturing to disturb the text.

* *Importinent questions concerning relidgin and gubement, handyled by the Robinhoodians.*

March 8, 1751.

THIS evenin the question at the Robinhood was, Whether relidgin was of any youse to sofyaty; baken † bifer mee To'mmas Whytebred, baker.

James Skotchum, barber, spak as floweth: Sir, I ham of upinion, that relidgin can be of no youse to any mortal sole; bycause as why, relidgin is of no youse to trayd, and if relidgin be of no youse to trayd, how

* Perhaps *importinent*.

† I think this should be read *taken*, and the baker's being intent on his trade occasioned the corruption.

ist

ist it is yousefool to fofyaty. Now no body can deny but that a man maye kary on his trayd very wel without religion; nay, and better two, for then he maye wurk won day in a wik mor than at present; whereof no body can faye but that seven is mor than fix: besides, if we haf no relidgin we shall haf no pairsuns*, and that will be a grate favin to the fofyaty; and it is a maksum† in trayd, that a peny fav'd is a peny got. Whereof——The end of this speech seems to be wanting, as doth the beginning of the next.

——different opinion from the learned gentleman who spoke first to the question: first, I deny that trade can be carried on without religion; for how often is the sanction of an oath necessary in contracts, and how can we have oaths without religion? As to the gaining one day in seven, which the gentleman seems to lay much stress upon, I do admit it to be an argument of great force; but I question, as the people have been long used to idleness on that day, whether it would be easy to make them work upon it; and, consequently, if they had no churches to go to, whether they would not resort to some worse place? As to the expence of parsons, I cannot think it is prejudicial to the society in general; for the parsons are members of the society; and whether they who do but little, or others who do nothing at all for their livelihood, possess their revenues, is a matter of no manner of concern to the public. Indeed, what the gentleman says concerning the Dutch, i shall own is highly to the honour of those industrious people: and I question not but if religion was to interfere with any branch of our trade, there is still so much good sense left in this nation that we should presently sacrifice the shadow to the substance. But though some instances should occur, in which religion may be prejudicial, it cannot be fairly argued from thence, that religion is therefore of no use to the society; and till that can be proved, I shall not give my vote for its abolition. But at present——*hammer down.*

* Read *parsons.*

† Read *maxim.*

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Mr Mac Flourish, student. I shall with grate reedness undertake that tosk upon my feel.—Sir, the queestion, as I tak it, is, whether relegion be of any use to society? And, sir, this is a queestion of that degnity, that grete emportance, that when I confeder the matter of wheech I am to speke, the degnity of the odience before whom I am to speke, when I reflect on the smallness of my own abeelities, weel may I be struck with the greetest awe and reverence: for, sir, neither Demosthenes, nor Eschines, nor Cecero, nor Horten'us, ever handled a more emportant queestion: and, sir, should any thing mesbecoming drop from me on this grate occasion, though your candour, your benevolence, might encline you to extend an unmeritted attention, yet, sir, these walls, these stones, these boards, these very bracks, withute ears, withute a tongue, would tacitly exprefs their endeegnation. Sir, it is a queestion, that whoever hath rede history, or deeved at all into the exceellent mystery of politics, must confees, that all the grete pheelosophers, poets, oraters, historians—*hammer down*—

Mr Ocurry, solicitor. Upon my shoul, I am very sorry now that the rules of this grate fociety forced the last very learned gentleman to sit down before he told us his opinion; but, whatever it be, I am after being of the saame. It is very true upon my shoul, what he said, that it is a very great question, and I do not well know fether I understand it as yet, or no: but this I think, that if religion be a great hurt to the nation, I cannot for my shoul see where the good of it is. This I know very well, that there is a very good religion in Ireland, and they do call it the Roman Catholic religion, and I am of it myself, though I don't very well know what it is. There is something about beads and masses, and patty nosters, and ivy marys, and I will fight for it as long as I am alive, and longer.—And upon my shoul I will tell you a good thing, if you are afraid of your own religion, you may fend for ours, for I know it will come; for father Patrick Ocain did tell me, he would bring it along with him. Nay, he tould me, that he had brought it hither before

fore he did come himself. [At which there was a laugh.]

Mr Giles Shuttle, weaver.—I hope, no gentleman will treat this thing as a jest, whereof I thinks it to be a very great matter of earnest. Whereof I don't much understand your speech-making sort of work, but this I thinks, that I am as a good judge of these sort of matters, for I am worth a hundred pounds, and owes no man a farthing. Whereof I thinks, I am as good a man as another; for why should not any other man have as much sense as a gentleman? I thinks I knows something of trade; that, to be sure, is the main article in every trading nation, whereby—Here the first paper was broke off. The second is as follows:

Question. Whether infinite power could make the world out of nothing?

The speakers to this question were Mr Thomas Tinderbox, the chandler; Mr George White, boat-swain's mate; Mr Edward Peacock, victualler; Mr Buge, the shoemaker; Mr Goose, the tailor; Mr Halt, the maker of pattins; and one great Scholar, whose name I do not know.

It was urged on the behalf of infinite power, That we have no very adequate idea of it: That there are many things which we see are, and yet we cannot, with any great certainty, tell how they came to be: That, so far from our reason being able to comprehend every thing, some wise men have doubted, whether we do, with certainty, comprehend any thing: That whatever we may think we know, we do not know how we think: That either every thing was made by something out of nothing, or else nothing made every thing either out of something or nothing. And, lastly; That infinite power might more reasonably be supposed to create every thing out of nothing, than no power at all could be supposed to make every thing out of any thing.

On the contrary, it was well argued, that nothing can be made out of nothing, for, *ex nihil, O nothing is fit*: That every day's experience must convince us of this; that, by infinite power, was only meant a very
great

great degree of power ; but that, if the one thing to be done be not the subject of power, the smallest degree will be equal to the greatest. And it was urged with great force of wit and eloquence, by Mr Goose, that the best tailor, and the worst, were alike unable to make a coat without materials : that, in this case, a tailor with infinite power would be in the same condition with a tailor who had no power at all. And if so small a thing as a coat could not be made out of nothing, how could so large a thing as the world be cut out of the same no materials ? The Scholar gave a very good answer to what had been offered concerning our ignorance of infinite power, and said, If he had no adequate idea of it, it was a good cause of disbelieving it ; for, as reason was to be judge of all things, what was not the object of reason, ought to be rejected by it. He admitted, that there were some things which did exist, and that we did not as yet know the manner in which they came to exist ; but it did not follow that such causes were above the reach of human reason because she had not yet discovered them ; for, he made no doubt but that this society, by means of their free enquiry after truth, would, in the end, discover the whole ; and that the manner in which a man was made would be no more a mystery to posterity, than it is to the present age how they make a pudding. He concluded with saying, that some very wise and learned men, who lived near three thousand years ago, had asserted that the world had existed from all eternity, which opinion seemed to solve all difficulties, and was, as it appeared, highly agreeable to the sentiments of the whole society.

Question. Whether, in the opinion of this society, the government did right in——

Here ends this valuable fragment, on which I shall give my comment in my next paper.

NUMB. 9. SATURDAY, February 1.

Dic quibus in terris, et eris mihi magnus Apollo.

VIRG.

*Tell in what clime these people did appear,
And you shall be the laureat of next year.*

IT will be a very difficult matter to fix with any certainty, at what place, and amongst what people, the Robin-hood society was held, as we have not the least light to guess from what language the fragment which now remains to us, was originally translated. Two things may be averred, that this society was held in some country where the people were extremely free; and, secondly, that it was in a country, where that part of the community, which the French call *la Canaille*, was at the head of public affairs.

From the latter of these circumstances, it appears that these Robinhoodians cannot be placed among the Egyptians; for Diodorus Siculus, speaking of these people, tells us, that "Whereas in all democracies great injury is done to the state by the populace interfering in the public councils, the Egyptians very severely punished those artificers who presumed to meddle with matters of government *."

Nor can I ever believe, that the question, whether religion was of any use to the society, would ever have been supported amongst a people so highly devoted to superstition, that religion was indeed the foundation of their civil society.

The same objection will recur against placing this society in Athens: for though Pericles, in his speech to the Athenians, recorded in Thucydides, compliments his countrymen with being all politicians, "Among us," says he, "even the mechanics are

* Diod. Sic. fol. 68. Edit. Rhod. Hanov. Πλείστοι δὲ τῶν δημοκρατουμένων πόλεσιν, κ. τ. λ.

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“not inferior to their fellow citizens in political knowledge * ;” yet in a country where Socrates was put to death, for attempting an innovation in religious matters, it is hard to believe that the dregs of the people would have been permitted to have questioned the very first principles of all religion with impunity.

And this objection will, I apprehend, hold likewise against all other states, not only those which we call civilized, but even the Tartars, Goths, Vandals, and Picts, &c. from the time they are recorded in history ; none of these having been found without their deities, and without a very strong persuasion of the truth of some religion or other. And so far were they all from doubting whether religion was of any use, or, as the fragment hath it, useful to the society, that they carried the images of their gods with them to war, and relied upon their favours and assistance for success in all affairs.

To say the truth, the only people now upon earth, among whose ancestors I can suppose such an assembly to have been held, are the inhabitants of a certain tract of land in Africa, bordering on the Cape of Good Hope, commonly known unto us by the name of the Hottentots.

I am, however, well aware that there are many objections to this opinion. First, that these Hottentots are supposed not to have any knowledge of religion at all, nor ever to have heard the name of the divinity ; whereas it appears manifestly that the Robinhoodians had some kind of religion even established in their country, and that the name of G— was at least known among them.

It is unnecessary to observe, likewise, that the members of this society had more of the use of letters, and were better skilled in the rules of oratory, than the Hottentots can be conceived to have been ; for as to the speech of Mr Mac Flourish, as well for the matter as for the eloquence of it, it might have been spoken with great applause in many of our politest assemblies.

* Thucyd. lib. ii. c. 40. Καὶ ἡτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις, κ. τ. λ.

Upon the whole, therefore, I must confess myself intirely at a loss in forming any probable conjecture as to what part of the earth these Robinhoodians inhabited ; not being able to trace the least footsteps of them in any history I have ever seen.

As to the time in which they flourished, the fragment itself will lend us some little assistance. It is dated 151; which figures, I make no doubt, should be all joined together, and then the only doubt will be from what æra this reckoning began.

And here, I think, there can be no doubt, but that the æra intended was that of the general flood in the time of Noah, and that the Robinhoodians were some party of those people, who are said, after the dispersion at Babel, to have been scattered over the face of the earth.

Those imperfect notions of religion which they appear to have entertained, admirably well agree with this opinion : for it is very reasonable to suppose that such immediate interpositions of providence, or, to speak more adequately, such denunciations of divine vengeance, as were exemplified in the deluge, and the dispersion at Babel, could scarce be so immediately eradicated as not to leave some little impression, some small sparks of religious veneration, in the grand-children and great-grand-children of those who had been spectators of such dreadful scenes ; as, on the other hand, both sacred and profane history assures us, that these sparks were faint, and not sufficient to kindle any true devotion among them.

Again, as the fragment very plainly appears to have been translated by several hands, so may we very reasonably infer that it was translated out of as many various languages : Another reason to fix the date of this assembly soon after the abovementioned dispersion.

Lastly, The name of Robinhood puts the matter beyond all doubt or question ; this word being, as a learned etymologist observed to me, clearly derived from the Tower of Babel ; for first Robin and Bobin are allowed to be the same word ; the first syllable then is Bob ; change o into a, which is only a meta-

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thesis of one vowel for another, and you have Bab ; then supply the termination el instead of ing (for both are only terminations) and you have clearly the word Babel.

As for h in hood, it is known to be no letter at all, and therefore an etymologist may there place what letter he pleases, and why not a t as well as any other. Then change the final into an r, and you have toor, which hath a better pretence, than the known word tor, to signify tower.—Thus, by a few inconsiderable changes, the Robin-hood and Babel-Tower appear to be one and the same word.

Two objections have been made to the great antiquity of this fragment ; the first is, that Ireland is mentioned in it, which, as Camden and others would make us believe, was not peopled till many ages after the æra I have above mentioned : but these learned men are certainly in a mistake ; for I am well assured that several Irish beggars, whose ancestors were dispossessed in the wars of the last century, are after having now in their possession the title-deeds of their said estates from long before the times of Noah.

The other objection is, that the Dutch are likewise mentioned in the fragment ; a people, as they are generally supposed, of a much later rise in the world than the period of time which I have endeavoured to assign to this society.

To this I answer, that though that body of people, who threw off the Spanish yoke in the time of the Duke of Alva, are extremely modern, yet are the Dutch themselves of very great antiquity, as hath been well proved by the learned Goropius Becanus from the history of Herodotus.

That historian tells us, that one of the Assyrian kings being desirous to discover who were the most ancient people, confined two children, a boy and a girl, till they were at the age of maturity, without suffering either of them to hear one articulate sound ; having determined, I know not for what reason, that whatever language could claim their first word, the people speaking that language should be deemed the most ancient.

The

The word which was first pronounced by one of them was Beker, which in the Phœnician tongue signifies bread: the Phœnicians were therefore concluded to have been the first planters of mankind.

Under this mistake the world continued many ages, till at last the learned Goropius discovered that the word Beker, which in the Phœnician tongue signifies bread, did in the Dutch language signify a baker, and that before bread was, a baker was. *Ergo, &c.*

And here I cannot help observing, that this quotation, as it proves the antiquity of the Dutch, so it proves the great antiquity of bakers, to whose honour we may likewise read in Diodorus, that Isis the wife of Osyris was immortalized among the Egyptians, for having taught them the art of baking.

Succeeding ages being unwilling to ascribe so great an honour to a woman, transferred it from her to her husband, and called him Bacchus, or, as it is more commonly by modern authors writ, Bakkus, and Bakus, which being literally done into English by the change of the Latin termination, is Baker.

Indeed, it is very reasonable to imagine that, before the invention of cookery, the bakers were held in the highest honours, as the people derived from their art the greatest dainty of which their simple taste gave them any idea. And the great esteem in which cookery is held now, may very well account for the preference given to bakers in those early ages, when these were the only cooks.

But if none of these reasons should be thought satisfactory, to fix, with any absolute certainty, the exact æra of this assembly, the following conclusions must be, I think, allowed by every reader.

First, That some religion had a kind of establishment amongst these people.

Secondly, That this religion, whatever it was, could not have the least sway over their morals or practice.

Thirdly, That this society, in which the first principles of religion and government were debated, was the chief assembly in this country, and Mr Whitebread, the baker, the greatest man in it.

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And, lastly, I think it can create no manner of surprise in any one, that such a nation as this hath been long since swept away from the face of the earth, and the very name of such a people expunged out of the memory of man.

NUMB. 10. TUESDAY, February 4.

*At nostri proavi Plantinos et numeros, et
Laudavere sales; nimium patienter utrumque,
Ne dicam stulte, mirati.*

Modernized.

*In former times this tasteless, silly town
Too fondly prais'd Tom D'Urfey and Tom Brown.*

THE present age seems pretty well agreed in an opinion, that the utmost scope and end of reading is amusement only; and such, indeed, are now the fashionable books, that a reader can propose no more than mere entertainment, and it is sometimes very well for him if he finds even this, in his studies.

Letters, however, were surely intended for a much more noble and profitable purpose than this. Writers are not, I presume, to be considered as mere jack-puddings, whose business it is only to excite laughter; this, indeed, may sometimes be intermixed, and served up, with graver matters, in order to titillate the palate, and to recommend wholesome food to the mind; and, for this purpose, it hath been used by many excellent authors: for why (as Horace says) should not any one promulgate truth with a smile on his countenance? Ridicule, indeed, as he again intimates, is commonly a stronger and better method of attacking vice, than the severer kind of satire.

When wit and humour are introduced for such good purposes, when the agreeable is blended with the useful, then is the writer said to have succeeded in every

every point. Pleasantry (as the ingenious author of *Clarissa* says of a story) should be made only the vehicle of instruction; and thus romances themselves, as well as epic poems, may become worthy the perusal of the greatest of men: but when no moral, no lesson, no instruction, is conveyed to the reader, where the whole design of the composition is no more than to make us laugh, the writer comes very near to the character of a buffoon; and his admirers, if an old Latin proverb be true, deserve no great compliments to be paid to their wisdom.

After what I have here advanced, I cannot fairly, I think, be represented as an enemy to laughter, or to all those kinds of writing that are apt to promote it. On the contrary, few men, I believe, do more admire the works of those great masters who have sent their satire (if I may use the expression) laughing into the world. Such are that great triumvirate, Lucian, Cervantes, and Swift. These authors I shall ever hold in the highest degree of esteem; not indeed for that wit and humour alone which they all so eminently possessed, but because they all endeavoured, with the utmost force of their wit and humour, to expose and extirpate those follies and vices which chiefly prevailed in their several countries.

I would not be thought to confine wit and humour to these writers. Shakespeare, Moliere, and some other authors, have been blessed with the same talents, and have employed them to the same purposes. There are some, however, who, though not destitute of these talents, have made so wretched a use of them, that, had the consecration of their labours been committed to the hands of the hangman, no good man would have regretted their loss: nor am I afraid to mention Rabelais, and Aristophanes himself, in this number. For, if I may speak my opinion freely of these two last writers, and of their works, their design appears to me very plainly to have been to ridicule all sobriety, modesty, decency, virtue and religion, out of the world. Now whoever reads over the five great writers first mentioned above, must either have a very

bad head, or a very bad heart, if he doth not become both a wiser and a better man.

In the exercise of the mind, as well as in the exercise of the body, diversion is a secondary consideration, and designed only to make that agreeable, which is at the same time useful to such noble purposes as health and wisdom. But what should we say to a man who mounted his chamber-hobby, or fought with his own shadow, for his amusement only? how much more absurd and weak would he appear, who swallowed poison because it was sweet?

How differently did Horace think of study from our modern readers?

Quid verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum:

Condo et compono, quæ max depromere possim.

“ Truth and decency are my whole care and enquiry.
 “ In this study I am entirely occupied; these I am
 “ always laying up, and so disposing, that I can at
 “ any time draw forth my stores for my immediate
 “ use.” The whole epistle, indeed, from which I have paraphrased this passage, is a comment upon it, and affords many useful lessons of philosophy.

When we are employed in reading a great and good author, we ought to consider ourselves as searching after treasures, which, if well and regularly laid up in the mind, will be of use to us on sundry occasions in our lives. If a man, for instance, should be overloaded with prosperity or adversity (both of which cases are liable to happen to us), who is there so very wise, or so very foolish, that, if he was a master of Seneca and Plutarch, could not find great matter of comfort and utility from their doctrines? I mention these rather than Plato or Aristotle, as the works of the latter are not, I think, yet completely made English; and, consequently, are less within the reach of most of my countrymen.

But, perhaps, it may be asked, will Seneca or Plutarch make us laugh? perhaps not; but if you are not a fool, my worthy friend, which I can hardly
 with

with civility suspect, they will both (the latter especially) please you more than if they did. For my own part, I declare, I have not read even Lucian himself with more delight than I have Plutarch; but surely it is astonishing, that such scribblers as Tom Brown, Tom D'Urfey, and the wits of our age, should find readers, whilst the writings of so excellent, so entertaining, and so voluminous an author as Plutarch remain in the world, and, as I apprehend, are very little known.

The truth, I am afraid, is, that real taste is a quality with which human nature is very slenderly gifted. It is indeed so very rare, and so little known, that scarce two authors have agreed in their notions of it; and those who have endeavoured to explain it to others, seem to have succeeded only in shewing us that they knew it not themselves. If I might be allowed to give my own sentiments, I should derive it from a nice harmony between the imagination and the judgment; and hence perhaps it is, that so few have ever possessed this talent in any eminent degree. Neither of these will alone bestow it; nothing is indeed more common than to see men of very bright imaginations, and of very accurate learning (which can hardly be acquired without judgment), who are entirely devoid of taste; and Longinus, who of all men seems most exquisitely to have possessed it, will puzzle his reader very much if he should attempt to decide, whether imagination or judgment shine the brighter in that inimitable critic.

But as for the bulk of mankind, they are clearly void of any degree of taste. It is a quality in which they advance very little beyond a state of infancy. The first thing a child is fond of in a book, is a picture; the second is a story; and the third a jest. Here then is the true *Pons Asinorum*, which very few readers ever get over.

From what I have said, it may perhaps be thought to appear, that true taste is the real gift of Nature only; and if so, some may ask, to what purpose have I endeavoured to shew men that they are without a blessing, which it is impossible for them to attain?

Now,

Now, though it is certain that to the highest consummation of taste, as well as of every other excellence, nature must lend much assistance; yet great is the power of art almost of itself, or at best with only slender aids from Nature; and to say the truth, there are very few who have not in their minds some small seeds of taste. "All men (says Cicero) have a sort of tacit sense of what is right or wrong in arts and sciences, even without the help of arts." This surely it is in the power of art very greatly to improve. That most men therefore proceed no farther than as I have above declared, is owing either to the want of any, or (which is perhaps yet worse) to an improper education.

I shall, probably, therefore, in a future paper, endeavour to lay down some rules by which all men may acquire, at least, some degree of taste. In the mean while, I shall (according to the method observed in inoculation) recommend to my readers, as a preparative for their receiving my instructions, a total abstinence from all bad books. I do therefore most earnestly intreat all my young readers, that they would cautiously avoid the perusal of any modern book till it hath first had the sanction of some wise and learned man; and the same caution I propose to all fathers, mothers, and guardians.

"Evil communications corrupt good manners," is a quotation of St Paul from Menander. *Evil books corrupt at once both our manners and our taste.*

NUMB.

NUMB. 17. SATURDAY, February 29.

Credite, Posterit.

HOR.

Let posterity take my word for it.

IT is a common expression with historians, "That such and such facts will hardly be believed by posterity;" and yet these facts are delivered by them as undoubted truths, and very often affirmed upon their own knowledge.

But, what is much more astonishing, many of those very instances, which are represented as difficult articles of faith by future ages, did most probably pass as common occurrences at the time when they happened, and might seem scarce worthy of any notice to the generality of people who were eye-witnesses to the transactions.

The cardinal de Retz, after relating the almost incredible distress of the then queen of England, who was likewise the daughter of France, and had not credit at Paris for a faggot to warm herself in the month of January, proceeds thus: "Nous avons horreur, en lisant les histoires de lachetez moins monstreuses que celle-la; & le peu de sentiment que je trouvais dans la plupart des esprits sur ce fait m'a obligé de faire, je crois, plus de mille fois cette réflexion: que les exemples du passé touchant sans comparaison plus les hommes que ceux de leurs siècles. Nous nous accoutumons à tout ce que nous voyons; & je vous ai dit quelquefois, que je ne fais si le consulat du cheval de Caligula nous auroit autant surprit que nous nous l'imaginons." "We are shocked, in reading history, at many less scandalous instances than this; and the little impression which I observed this made in the generality of mens minds at that time, hath caused this reflection to recur to me a thousand times, That the examples of former ages do beyond all comparison more sensibly affect us, than those of our own times. Cus-

tom

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‘ tom blinds us with a kind of glare to those objects
‘ before our eyes ; and I have often doubted whether
‘ we should have been as much surpris’d at Caligula,
‘ when he made his horse a consul, as we are apt to
‘ imagine we should have been.’

I can with truth declare, that I have a thousand times reflected on the judicious discernment of this uncommon observation ; the justice and excellence of which I will endeavour to illustrate to my reader, by taking once more a survey of that opinion which posterity may be reasonably supposed to entertain of the present times ; and as I have formerly shewn that they will probably, in some instances, believe much more than ourselves, so, in others, it is altogether as probable, that they will believe less.

Without further preface, then, let us suppose some great and profound critic, in the fortieth century, undertaking to comment on those historical materials relating to this kingdom, with which that age may possibly furnish him ; and in what manner may we conceive him more likely to write than in the following ?

*Abstract from Humphry Newmixon's Observations on the
History of Great Britain.*

* * * * *

Desunt multa.

THOUGH it is impossible to deliver any thing with great certainty of those fabulous ages, which a little preceeded the time when universal ignorance began to overspread the face of the earth, and more especially prevailed in this island, till the restoration of learning, which first began in the thirty-sixth century ; some few monuments of antiquity have, however, triumphed over the rage of barbarism, which may serve us to confute the horrid forgeries of that Legendary, Geoffry Bechard, who wrote about the year 3000.

This

This Geoffry, writing of the year 1751, hath the following words : ‘ The Inglis hat set temps ware foe
 ‘ dicted to gamein, foe that severall off the grate menn
 ‘ yous’d to mak yt thee soal biiness off theyre lifs ;
 ‘ hand knot unli thee messirs, butt also theyre fems
 ‘ yous’d to spend a hole dais, hand knits hatt thayr
 ‘ cartes. Les fems aussi als messirs cheept thayre
 ‘ l’assemble forr thatt propos, hat whitch les fems
 ‘ hat perdus mundoy quelle thayres messirs rop koon-
 ‘ tri for get.’

So far this bishop, who was reputed to be one of the most learned men of his age, *quia legere & scribere poterat*, says a cotemporary author : but those who contend the most for his learning, will be able, I am afraid, to say but little for his honesty ; since all must allow, that he was either deceived himself, or hath endeavoured to deceive his readers : for I have now by me a record of undoubted antiquity, by which it appears, that all kinds of gaming were, within a few years before this period of which this Geoffry writes, absolutely prohibited under the severest penalties. This law might indeed be infringed by some of the lowest of the people ; and there is some reason to think it was so ; for in a speech of George the Good, delivered from the throne in that very year 1751, a severe execution of the laws in this respect is recommended to the magistrate.

But that the great men, as the bishop says, should fly thus in the face, not only of those laws which they themselves made, but of their sovereign too, is too incredible to be imposed even on children.

Again, here is a reflection not only on the great men, but on the great ladies of those times, who are represented in a light, which I shall not affront the present virtuous and prudent matrons, their great grand-daughters in the seventieth descent, by mentioning. But how inconsistent is this character with what we find in the writings of Sir Alexander Drawcanfir, the only annalist of whose works any part hath descended to us, who, in one of his annals or journals, acquaints us, that there was not a single lady in his time married, who was not pos-
 sced

fed of every qualification to make the marriage-state happy ?

The same authority is sufficient to contradict the absurd account which this Geoffry gives in another place of the ladies of those days ; where he says that women of the first quality used to make nightly riots in their own houses. One passage is so ridiculous, that I cannot omit it. The ladies of St James's parish, says he, used to treat their company with Drums ; and this was thought one of their most elegant entertainments ; some copies, I know, read Drums, but the former is the true reading, nor would the latter much cure the absurdity.

A learned critic, indeed, of my acquaintance, suspects, that the above passage is corrupt, and proposes, instead of St James's, to read St Giles's, and instead of Drum, to read Dram ; and then, he says, the above account will agree with a record of that age ; by which it appears, that the women of St Giles's parish were notoriously addicted to dram-drinking at that time. And as for the word Lady, he urges, that it did not then, as it doth now, signify a woman of great rank and distinction, but was applied promiscuously to the whole female sex ; to support which he produces a passage from Sir Alexander Drawcansir, where the wife of a low mechanic is called a lady of great merit.

Another legend, recorded by our Geoffry, is sufficient of itself to destroy his credit. He tells us, that a *herd of bucks* used to frequent all the public places ; nay, he says, that two or three such animals would sometimes venture among several thousands of gentlemen and ladies, and put them all into confusion and disorder. This is a very scandalous reflection on the gentlemen of those days ; but it is at the same time so incredible, that it needs no refutation.

The truth, I believe, is, that the bishop was a weak and credulous man, and very easily imposed upon ; especially in those matters with which his function prevented him from being well acquainted. What he writes of their theatrical entertainments is beyond all measure ridiculous. ‘ De vurst nite of le play (says he)

he) 'd'author was put a de stake sur on de theatre
 ' stage, dare des criticats dey palt at him, hyefs him,
 ' catadecall him; off, off him, vor too dree heares.
 ' Dis de dam playe. Des criticats be de a perentice,
 ' klarque, boo, buccuk and gamambler.'

Now, I will refer it to any one, whether the historian can be conceived here to write of a civilized people; and such the Britons are allowed on all hands to have been at that time.

Monsieur de Belle Lettre, in his *Melange Critique*, which he published in the year 3892, treats the whole history of this Geoffry as a romance; and, indeed, what is recorded in it concerning dogs, seems sufficiently to favour this opinion. At this time, says Bechard, the chief learning among those people was among the dogs. Learned was then a common epithet to several of the canine species, and a great dispute was for a long time carried on between a French and English individual of this species. We know not in whose favour it was determined; but it is agreed on all hands, that the question was, which was the most learned of the two? The historian adds, that several of the most eminent writers were of the canine kind; and were universally called *sad dogs**.

The bishop concludes his history with these words:
 ' Monstr, incred ten thousand pip. siffi nit. up got zee
 ' oostryche tap tonnobus, is pregados. zat zocurn hypor
 ' hoperad abun, idelonycus quinto purzin inmus fi-
 ' fadon addili.'

Which is so ridiculous a supposition, that I shall leave it with the reader without any remark.

* Sad is synonymous with grave, wise. The judges were formerly called "sad men of the law."

NUMB 21. SATURDAY, March 14.

*Est miserorum, ut malevolentes sint atque invidiant
bonis.*

PLAUTUS.

*It is a miserable state to be malevolent and to envy
good men.*

I SHALL publish the following letter with the same design that the Spartans exposed drunken men to the view of their children. Examples may perhaps have more advantage over precepts, in teaching us to avoid what is odious, than in impelling us to pursue what is amiable. If the reader will peruse it with attention, he will, I conceive, discover in it a very useful moral; of which I shall give no further hint, than by desiring the reader not to be offended at the contradictions that occur in it.

Mr. CENSOR,

WHEN I first read the name of Axylus to a letter in your paper, though I easily perceived the writer to be a silly fellow, I little guessed who was the individual person; but in this second performance he hath been pleased to acquaint me who he is.

The fellow, Sir, you are to know, I have employed every means in my power to persecute, ever since I was acquainted with him; not because he is a fool (for I have no fixed quarrel with so numerous a body), but because he is in reality a good man.

You will perhaps think this a very strange confession; and so it would be, if there was any possibility of your guessing from whom it came; but I have the satisfaction to be assured, that, though I am actually known both to you and your friend Axylus, I shall be the last person in the world to whom either of you will impute the character I shall here lay open. I well know that I pass upon you both, and a thousand other such wise people, for one of the best and worthiest men

men alive: for, as a late orator at the Robinhood said, He had the honour to be an atheist; so I, Sir, have the honour to be a most profound hypocrite.* By which means I have universally obtained a good character, and perhaps a much better than what the silly Axylus hath acquired by really deserving it: for, as Plato remarks in the second book of his Republic, the just man and the unjust man are often reciprocally mistaken by mankind, and do frequently pass in the world the one for the other. The reason of which, as I take it, and as he in Plato indeed intimates, is, that the former are for the most part fools, and the latter are men of sense.

If I could so far prevail, however, as to deprive this Axylus of all the praise which he receives from his actions, and to shew him in an opprobrious light to the world, I might perhaps be contented, and wish him ill no longer. And yet I am not positive that this would be the case: for what amends can it make to a man who sees his mistress in his rival's arms, that the world in general are persuaded that he himself alone enjoys her; or could all the flattery of his courtiers, and all the Te-deums of his priests, satisfy Lewis XIV. and prevent his envying the Duke of Marlborough? I am well apprized that the reputation of goodness is all which I aim at, and is all which a wise man would desire; notwithstanding which, I am convinced that praise sounds most harmonious to that ear where it finds an echo from within: nay, who knows the secret comforts which a good heart may dictate from within, even when all without are silent! I perceive symptoms of such inward satisfaction in Axylus, and for that reason I envy and hate him from the bottom of my soul.

You will perhaps say, why then do you not imitate him? Your servant, Sir; shall I imitate a fool because I see him happy in his folly? for, folly I am convinced it is to interest yourself in the happiness, or in the concerns of others. Horace, who was a sensible writer, and knew the world, advises every man to roll himself up in himself, as a polished bowl which admits of no rubs from without; and the old

Greek, like a wise rogue, exclaims; 'When I am dead, let the earth be consumed by fire. It is no concern of mine; all my affairs are well settled.'

Here again it may be objected, why do you envy one whom you condemn as a fool? To this, I own, it is not easy to give an answer. In fact, Nature hath moulded up with the wisest clay of man some very simple ingredients. Hence we covet those commendations which we know are seldom bestowed without a sneer, and which are annexed to characters that we despise. The truth, I am afraid, is, that I would willingly be this very man. That I have sometimes such a fear, I confess to you, as I think it impossible you should ever guess from whence the confession comes; for I would not, for ten thousand pounds, that any man should know I had ever such a wish; nay, I would not for an equal sum know myself that I had it.

And from this fear, this suspicion (for I once more assure you, and myself, that it is no more than a suspicion), I heartily detest this Axylus: for this reason, I have hitherto pursued him with the most inveterate hatred; have industriously taken every occasion to plague him, and have let slip no opportunity of ruining his reputation.

I am aware, I may have let drop something which may lead you into an opinion that I really esteem this character, which I would endeavour to persuade you I despise; but, before I finish this letter, I flatter myself I shall place this fellow in so contemptible a light, that I shall have no reason to apprehend your drawing any such conclusion.

First, notwithstanding all the secret comforts which Axylus pretends to receive from the energies of benevolence, as he calls them, I cannot persuade myself, that there is really any pleasure in a good action. I must own to you, I do not speak this absolutely on my own knowledge, for I do not remember to have done one truly good, benevolent action in my whole life. Indeed, I should heartily despise myself if I had any such recollection.

And

And if there be no pleasure in goodness, I am sure there is no profit in it. This, Axylus himself will, I doubt not, be ready to confess. No man hath ever made or improved, though many have injured, and some have destroyed, their fortunes this way.

In the last place, as to the motives which arise from our vanity, and which, as that very wise writer Dr Mandevil observes, are much the strongest supports of what is generally called benevolence, I think to make the folly of doing good from such motives very plainly appear. I am far from being an enemy to praise, or for expressing that contempt for a good character which some have affected. But surely it becomes a man to purchase every thing as cheap as he can; now, why should he be at the pains and expence of being good in reality, when he may so certainly obtain all the applause he aims at, merely by pretending to be so?

An instance of this I give you in myself, who, without having ever done a single good action, have universally a good character; and this I have acquired by only taking upon me the trouble of supporting one constant series of hypocrisy all my days.

Axylus, on the contrary, for want of undergoing this trouble, hath missed the praises he deserves. While he carelessly doth a hundred good actions, without being at the pains of displaying them, they are all overlooked by the world; nay, often by my means (for I am always watchful on such occasions) his most disinterested benevolence is seen in a disadvantageous light; and his goodness, instead of being commended, turns to his dishonour.

An example of this I saw, the other day, when you published his last letter, where all that is said of an unhappy woman, drawn in to be guilty of the highest degree of wickedness, by the most wicked and profligate of men, I am convinced flowed immediately from that compassion which is the constant energy of these good hearts. Now, Sir, even this I turned against him. I represented it as a barbarous attempt to revile the character of a man before he had undergone his trial; and, can you believe it? such is the

nature of man, I found some persons who could not, or would not, see the difference between concluding a person guilty who is in custody, and who is to undergo a legal disquisition into his crimes, and concluding one to be guilty of a fact for which he hath fled from justice, and who, even by the evidence given on oath in the solemn trial of another, appears to all the world to be guilty.

But perhaps it may be said, though the world in general do not commend your actions, still you are repaid for them sufficiently, by having the esteem, the love, the gratitude, of those to whom they are done. To this purpose, I will tell you a short story. The fact is true, and happened to Mr Axylus himself.

That silly, good man had done many great services to a private family. Indeed, the very bread they ate was for a long time owing to his foolish generosity; and at length, by his advice and assistance, this family was brought from a state of poverty and distress to what might be called affluence in their condition. I was acquainted with the whole scene, and often present at it; and, indeed, it was one of the pleasantest I ever saw: for while the good man was rejoicing in his own goodness, and feeding his foolish vanity with fond conceits of the grateful returns which were made to him in the bosoms of the obliged, they on the other side were continually laughing at his folly amongst themselves, and flattering their own ingenuity with their constant impositions on his good nature, and ascribing every thing which they obtained of him, to their own superior cunning and power of over-reaching him.

When I had enjoyed this scene till I was weary of it, I was resolved to work myself another satisfaction out of it, by tormenting the man I hate. I accordingly communicated the secret to Axylus, and gave him almost demonstration of the truth of what I told him. He answered, with a smile, he hoped I was mistaken; but, if not, he was answerable for the means only, and not for the end; and the very same day did a new favour to one of the family.

I will

I will conclude by telling you, that it was I who sent him the trial of Miss Blandy to vex him, and I hope you will print this letter, that he may have the plague of guessing at me, for I am sure he will guess wrong; and perhaps may fix on one of his best friends; which will be doing him a very great injury, and will consequently give great pleasure to,

SIR, your's,

IAGO.

I cannot dismiss this letter without observing, that if there be really such a person as this writer describes himself, the possession of his own bad mind is a worse curse to him, than he himself will ever be able to inflict on the happy Axylus.

NUMB. 23. SATURDAY, March 21.

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν παλικοιρανίᾳ εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω,
Εἰς βασιλεὺς, ὃ ἔδωκε Κρόνῳ παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω
Συῆπλόν τ' ἠδὲ Διμίτῃ, ἵνα σφισιν ἐμβασιλεύῃ.

HOMER.

— — — *Here is not allow'd,
That worst of tyrants, an usurping crowd.
To one sole monarch Jove commits the sway;
His are the laws, and him let all obey.* POPE.

THOUGH of the three forms of government acknowledged in the schools, all have been very warmly opposed, and as warmly defended; yet, in this point, the different advocates will, I believe, very readily agree, that there is not one of the three which is not greatly to be preferred to a total anarchy; a state in which there is no subordination, no lawful power, and no settled government; but where every man is at liberty to act in whatever manner it pleaseth him best.

As

As this is in reality a most deplorable state, I have long lamented, with great anguish of heart, that it is at present the case of a very large body of people in this kingdom; an assertion which, as it may surprise most of my readers, I will make haste to explain, by declaring that I mean the fraternity of the quill, that body of men to whom the public assign the name of authors.

However absurd politicians may have been pleased to represent the *imperium in imperio*, it will here, I doubt not, be found, on a strict examination, to be extremely necessary; the commonwealth of literature being indeed totally distinct from the greater commonwealth, and no more dependant upon it than the kingdom of England is on that of France. Of this our legislature seems to have been at all times sensible, as they have never attempted any provision for the regulation or correction of this body. In one instance, it is true, there are (I should rather, I believe, say there were) some laws to restrain them: for writers, if I am not mistaken, have been formerly punished for blasphemy against God, and libels against the government; nay, I have been told, that to slander the reputation of private persons, was once thought unlawful here as well as among the Romans, who, as Horace tells us, had a severe law for this purpose.

In promulging these laws (whatever may be the reason of suffering them to grow obsolete) the state seems to have acted very wisely; as such kind of writings are really of most mischievous consequence to the public: but alas! there are many abuses, many horrid evils, daily springing up in the commonwealth of literature, which appear to affect only that commonwealth, at least immediately, of which none of the political legislators have ever taken any notice; nor hath any civil court of judicature ever pretended to any cognizance of them. Nonsense and dulness are no crimes in *foro civili*: no man can be questioned for bad verses in Westminster-Hall; and amongst the many indictments for battery, not one can be produced

duced for breaking poor Priscian's head, though it is done almost every day.

But though immediately, as I have said, these evils do not affect the greater commonwealth; yet as they tend to the utter ruin of the lesser, so they have a remote evil consequence, even on the state itself; which seems, by having left them unprovided for, to have remitted them, for the sake of convenience, to the government of laws, and to the superintendence of magistrates of this lesser commonwealth; and never to have foreseen or suspected that dreadful state of anarchy, which at present prevails in this lesser empire; an empire which hath formerly made so great a figure in this kingdom, and that indeed almost within our own memories.

It may appear strange, that none of our English historians have spoken clearly and distinctly of this lesser empire; but this may be well accounted for, when we consider that all these histories have been written by two sort of persons; that is to say, either politicians or lawyers. Now the former of these have had their imaginations so entirely filled with the affairs of the greater empire, that it is no wonder the business of the lesser should have totally escaped their observation. And as to the lawyers, they are well known to have been very little acquainted with the commonwealth of literature, and to have always acted and written in defiance to its laws.

For these reasons, it is very difficult to fix, with certainty, the exact period when this commonwealth first began among us. Indeed, if the originals of all the greater empires upon earth, and even of our own, be wrapped in such obscurity that they elude the enquiries of the most diligent sifters of antiquity, we cannot be surprised that this fate should attend our little empire, opposed as it hath been by the pen of the lawyer, overlooked by the eye of the historian, and never once smelt after by the nose of the antiquarian.

In the earliest ages, the literary state seems to have been an ecclesiastical democracy: for the clergy are then

then said to have had all the learning among them ; and the great reverence paid at that time to it by the laity, appears from hence, that whoever could prove in a court of justice that he belonged to this state, by only reading a single verse in the Testament, was vested with the highest privileges, and might do almost what he pleased ; even commit murder with impunity. And this privilege was called the benefit of the clergy.

This commonwealth, however, can scarce be said to have been in any flourishing state of old time, even among the clergy themselves ; inasmuch as we are told, that a rector of a parish, going to law with his parishioners about paving the church, quoted this authority from St Peter, *Paveant illi, non paveam ego.* Which he construed thus : ‘ They are to pave the church, and not I.’ And this by a judge, who was likewise an ecclesiastic, was allowed to be very good law.

The nobility had clearly no antient connexion with this commonwealth, nor would submit to be bound by any of its laws ; witness that provision in an old act of parliament ; ‘ that a nobleman shall be entitled to the benefit of his clergy (the privilege above-mentioned), even though he cannot read.’ Nay, the whole body of the laity, though they gave such honours to this commonwealth, appear to have been very few of them under its jurisdiction : as appears by a law cited by judge Rolls in his Abridgement, with the reason which he gives for it : ‘ The command of the sheriff,’ says this writer, ‘ to his officer by word of mouth, and without writing, is good ; for it may be, that neither the sheriff nor his officer can write or read.’

But not to dwell on these obscure times, when so very little authentic can be found concerning this commonwealth, let us come at once to the days of Henry the Eighth, when no less a revolution happened in the lesser than in the greater empire : for the literary government became absolute, together with the political, in the hands of one and the same monarch ; who was himself a writer, and dictated not only law but

but common sense too, to all his people; suffering no one to write or speak but according to his own will and pleasure.

After this king's demise, the literary commonwealth was again separated from the political; for I do not find that his successor on the greater throne succeeded him likewise in the lesser. Nor did either of the two queens, as I can learn, pretend to any authority in this empire, in which the salique law hath universally prevailed: for though there have been some considerable subjects of the female sex in the literary commonwealth, I never remember to have read of a queen.

It is not easy to say, with any great exactness, what form of government was preserved in this commonwealth during the reign of Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; for though there were some great men in those times, none of them seemed to have affected the throne of wit: nay, Shakespeare, who flourished in the latter end of the last reign, and who seemed so justly qualified to enjoy this crown, never thought of challenging it.

In the reign of James I. the literary government was an aristocracy: for I do not chuse to give it the evil name of oligarchy, though it consisted only of four; namely, master William Shakespeare, master Benjamin Johnson, master John Fletcher, and master Francis Beaumont. This quadrumvirate, as they introduced a new form of government, thought proper, according to Machiavel's advice, to introduce new names; they therefore called themselves *the wits*, a name which hath been affected since by the reigning monarchs in this empire.

The last of this quadrumvirate enjoyed the government alone during his life; after which the troubles, that shortly after ensued, involved this lesser commonwealth in all the confusion and ruin of the greater; nor can any thing be found of it with sufficient certainty, till the *wits* in the reign of Charles the Second, after many struggles among themselves for superiority, at last agreed to elect John Dryden to be their king.

This

This king John had a very long reign, though a very unquiet one; for there were several pretenders to the throne of wit in his time, who formed very considerable parties against him, and gave him great uneasiness, of which his successor hath made mention in the following lines :

‘ Pride, folly, malice, against Dryden rose,
‘ In various shapes, of parsons, critics, beaux.’

Besides which, his finances were in such disorder, that it is affirmed his treasury was more than once entirely empty.

He died nevertheless in a good old age, possessed of the kingdom of wit, and was succeeded by king Alexander, surnamed Pope.

This prince enjoyed the crown many years, and is thought to have stretched the prerogative much farther than his predecessor: he is said to have been extremely jealous of the affections of his subjects, and to have employed various spies, by whom, if he was informed of the least suggestion against his title, he never failed of branding the accused person with the word *dunce* on his forehead in broad letters; after which the unhappy culprit was obliged to lay down his pen for ever; for no bookseller would venture to print a word that he wrote.

He did indeed put a total restraint on the liberty of the press: for no person durst read any thing which was writ without his licence and approbation; and this licence he granted only to four during his reign, namely, to the celebrated Dr Swift, to the ingenious Dr Young, to Dr Arbuthnot, and to one Mr Gay, four of his principal courtiers and favourites.

But without diving any deeper into his character, we must allow that king Alexander had great merit as a writer, and his title to the kingdom of wit was better founded at least than his enemies have pretended.

After the demise of king Alexander, the literary state relapsed again into a democracy, or rather indeed into downright anarchy; of which, as well as of the consequences, I shall treat in a future paper.

NUMB. 24. TUESDAY, March 24.

*Nimirum sapere est abjectis utile nugis,
Et tempestivum pueris concedere ludum.* HOR.

*Trifling pursuits true wisdom casts away;
And leaves to children all their childish play.*

THE mind of man is compared by Montaigne to a fertile field, which, though it be left entirely uncultivated, still retains all its genial powers; but, instead of producing any thing lovely or profitable, sends forth only weeds and wild herbs of various kinds, which serve to no use or emolument whatsoever.

The human mind, indeed, is of too active a nature to content itself with a state of perfect rest or sloth. There are few men such arrant stocks or stones as to be always satisfied with idleness, or to come up to that description in Lucretius:

*Mortua cui vita est prope jam vivo, atque videnti,
Qui somno partem majorem conterit avi,
Et vigilans stertit.*

St Paul describes these men better, when, writing to the Thessalonians, he says some of them are *μὴδὲν ἐργαζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ περιεργαζόμενοι* 'Doing no work, but 'busying themselves in impertinence.' Or, as the Latin author expresses the same sentiment; *Gratis ambulans, multa agendo nihil agens*: 'Puffing and sweating to no purpose; employed about many things, and doing nothing.'

The original of diversions is certainly owing to this active temper: for to what purpose were they calculated, but, as the very word in our language implies, to cast off idleness? than which, to the generality of mankind, there is not, I believe, a much heavier burden.

But if we look a little deeper into this matter, we shall find that there is implanted in our nature a great love of business, and an equal abhorrence of idleness. This discovers itself very early in children; most of whom, as I have observed, are never better pleased than when they are employed by their elders.

The same disposition we may perceive in men; in those particularly to whom Fortune hath made business unnecessary, and whom Nature very plainly appears never to have designed for any. And yet, how common is it to see these men playing at business, if I may use the expression, and pleasing themselves all their lives with the imagination that they are not idle!

From this busy temper may be derived almost all the works with which great men have obliged the world. Hence it was that the great artifex Nero arrived at so great skill, as he himself tells us he did, in music; to which he applied with such unwearied industry on the stage, that several persons counterfeited death, in order to be carried out of the theatre from hearing him: for it would have been very unsafe for the *town* of Rome to damn his performances.

If Domitian had not been of a busy as well as a cruel temper, he could never have employed so many hours in the ingenious employment of fly-spitting, which he is supposed to have brought to the highest degree of perfection of which the art is capable. Hence it is so many industrious critics have spent their lives 'in all such reading as was never read,' as Mr Pope hath it; witness the laborious and all-read Dr Zachary Grey, who, to compile those wonderful notes to his *Hudibras*, must have ransacked not only all the stalls, but all the trunks and bandboxes in the world.

Didymus the grammarian was another labourer of this kind. Seneca tells us, 'That he writ four thousand books; in some of which he enquires into the country of Homer; in others, who was the true mother of Æneas; whether Anacreon loved wenching or drinking most; whether Sappho was a common prostitute;' with other such learning, with
which

which if you had already stuffed your head, your study ought to be how to get it out again.

Tiberius, wise as he was in policy, had a great inclination to this kind of knowledge. He pursued it, says Suetonius, *usque ad ineptias & derisum*, &c. 'to a degree of folly and ridicule; for he used to ask the grammarians, of whose company he was very fond, such kind of questions as these. Who was the mother of Hecuba? by what name Achilles passed among the daughters of Lycomedes? What songs the Syrens used to sing?' &c.

Cardinal Chigi, who was afterwards Pope Alexander the seventh, was a genius of this kind. He proclaimed a public prize for that learned man who could find a Latin word for the word *Chaize*. He likewise spent seven or eight days in searching whether *Musca*, a fly, came from *Mosca*, or *Mosca* from *Musca*. De Retz, from whose memoirs I have taken this story, says, that he had formerly discovered that the Cardinal was *Homme de minutis*; for that the said cardinal, in a discourse on the studies of his youth, had told De Retz, that he had wrote two years with the same pen.

I cannot omit the excellent remark of my author, though not to my present purpose. 'It is true,' says he, 'this is but a trifle; but I have often observed, that little things afford us truer symptoms of the dispositions of men, than great ones.'

What but the utmost impatience of idleness, could prompt men to employ great pains and trouble, and expence too, in making large collections of butterflies, pebbles, and such other wonderful productions; while others, from the same impatience, have been no less busy in hunting after monsters of every kind, as if they were at enmity with Nature, and desirous of exposing all her errors?

The Greeks have a word for this industry. They call it *Κενσπυδία*; and oftner *Πολυπραγμοσύνη*. Neither of which words I can translate without a periphrasis. By both is meant a vain curiosity and diligence in trifles.

I make no doubt that the same industry would often make a man of a moderate capacity a very com-

petent master of some notable science, which hath made him a proficient in some contemptible art, or rather knack. The dexterous juggler might have made a complete mechanic. The same labour, and perhaps the genius, which brings a man to perfection at the game of chess, would make a great proficiency in the mathematics. Many a beau might have been a scholar, if he had consulted books with the same attention with which he hath consulted a looking-glass; and many a fox-hunter might to his great honour have pursued the enemies of his country, with less labour and with less danger than he hath encountered in the pursuit of foxes.

I am almost inclined to think, that if a complete history could be compiled of the eminent works of the *Κρυοπυδοί*, the triflers, it would manifestly appear, that more labour and pains, more time (I had almost said more genius), have been employed in the service of folly, than have been employed by the greatest men in inventing and perfecting the most erudite and consummate works of art or wisdom.

I will conclude this paper with a passage from the excellent and truly learned Dr Barrow, which gives a very serious, but just turn to this subject.

Aliud agere, to be impertinently busy, doing that which conduceth to no good purpose, is in some respect worse than to do nothing, or to forbear all action: for it is a positive abuse of our faculties, and trifling with God's gifts; it is throwing away labour and care, things valuable in themselves; it is often running out of the way, which is worse than standing still; it is a debasing our reason, and declining from our manhood; nothing being more foolish or childish, than to be solicitous and serious about trifles; for who are more busy and active than children! Who are fuller of thoughts and designs, or more eager in prosecution of them than they? but all is about ridiculous toys, the shadows of business, suggested to them by apish curiosity and imitation. Of such industry we may understand that of the preacher, *The labour of the foolish wearieth every one of them*: for that a man soon will be
 weary

'weary of that labour which yieldeth no profit or beneficial return.'

NUMB. 33. SATURDAY, April 23.

Odi profanum vulgus.

HOR.

I hate profane rascals.

SIR,

IN this very learned and enlightened age, in which authors are almost as numerous as booksellers, I doubt not but your correspondents furnish you with a sufficient quantity of waste paper. I perhaps may add to the heap; for as men do not always know the motive of their own actions, I may possibly be induced by the same sort of vanity as other puny authors have been, to desire to be in print. But I am very well satisfied with you for my judge; and if you should not think proper to take any notice of the hint I have here sent you, I shall conclude that I am an impertinent correspondent, but that you are a judicious and impartial critic. In my own defence, however, I must say, that I am never better pleased than when I see extraordinary abilities employed in the support of His honour and religion, who has so bountifully bestowed them. It is for this reason that I wish you would take some notice of the character, or rather story, here sent you. In my travels westward last summer, I lay at an inn in Somersetshire, remarkable for its pleasant situation and the obliging behaviour of the landlord, who, though a downright rustic, had an awkward sort of politeness, arising from his good nature, that was very pleasing, and, if I may be allowed the expression, was a sort of good-breeding undress. As I intended to make a pretty long journey the next day, I rose time enough to behold that glorious luminary the sun set out on his course, which, by the bye, is one of the finest sights the eye can behold; and as it is a thing

feldom seen by people of fashion, unless it be at the theatre at Covent-Garden, I could not help laying some stress upon it here. The kitchen in this inn was a very pleasant room; I therefore called for some tea, sat me in the window, that I might enjoy the prospect which the country afforded, and a more beautiful one is not in the power of imagination to frame. This house was situated on the top of a hill; and for two miles below it meadows, enlivened with variety of cattle, and adorned with a greater variety of flowers, first caught my sight. At the bottom of this vale ran a river, which seemed to promise coolness and refreshment to the thirsty cattle. The eye was next presented with fields of corn, that made a kind of an ascent, which was terminated by a wood, at the top of which appeared a verdant hill, situated as it were in the clouds, where the sun was just arrived, and peeping o'er the summit, which was at this time covered with dew, gilded it over with his rays, and terminated my view in the most agreeable manner in the world. In a word, the elegant simplicity of every object round me filled my heart with such gratitude, and furnished my mind with such pleasing meditations, as made me thank Heaven I was born. But this state of joyous tranquillity was not of long duration: I had scarce begun my breakfast, when my ears were saluted with a genteel whistle, and the noise of a pair of slippers descending the stair-case; and soon after I beheld a contrast to my former prospect, being a very beautiful gentleman, with a huge laced hat on as big as Pistol's in the play; a wig somewhat disheveled, and a face which at once gave you a perfect idea of emptiness, assurance, and intemperance. His eyes, which before were scarce open, he fixed on me with a stare which testified surprise, and his coat was immediately thrown open, to display a very handsome second hand gold-laced waistcoat. In one hand he had a pair of saddle-bags, and in the other a hanger of mighty size, both of which, with a graceful G—d—mn you, he placed upon a chair. Then advancing towards the landlord, who was standing by me, he said, 'By G—, landlord, your wine is damnable
' strong.'

‘strong.’ ‘I don’t know,’ replied the landlord; ‘it is generally reckoned pretty good, for I have it all from London.’ ‘Pray, who is your wine-merchant?’ says the man of importance. ‘A very great man,’ says the landlord, ‘in his way; perhaps you may know him, Sir, his name is Kirby.’ ‘Ah; what, honest Tom? he and I have cracked many a bottle of claret together; he is one of the most considerable merchants in the city; the dog is hellish poor, damnable poor, for I don’t suppose he is worth a farthing more than a hundred thousand pound; only a plumb, that’s all; he is to be our Lord Mayor next year.’ ‘I ask pardon, Sir, that is not the man, for our Mr Kirby’s name is not Thomas, but Richard.’ ‘Ay,’ says the gentleman, ‘that’s his brother; they are partners together.’ ‘I believe,’ says the landlord, ‘you are out, Sir, for that gentleman has no brother.’ ‘D—n your nonsense, with you and your outs,’ says the beau, ‘as if I should not know better than you country puts; I who have lived in London all my lifetime.’ ‘I ask a thousand pardons,’ says the landlord, ‘I hope no offence, Sir.’ ‘No, no,’ cries the other, ‘we gentlemen know how to make allowance for your country-breeding.’ Then stepping to the kitchen-door, with an audible voice he called the ostler, and in a very graceful accent, said, ‘D—n your blood, you cock-eye’d son of a bitch, bring me my boots: did not you hear me call?’ Then turning to the landlord, said, ‘Faith, that Mr What-d’ye-callum, the exciseman, is a damn’d jolly fellow.’ ‘Yes, Sir,’ says the landlord, ‘he is a merryish sort of a man.’ ‘But,’ says the gentleman, ‘as for that schoolmaster, he is the queerest bitch I ever saw; he looks as if he could not say boh to a goose.’ ‘I don’t know, Sir,’ says the landlord, ‘he is reckoned to be a desperate good scollard about us, and the gentry likes him vastly, for he understands the measurement of land and timber, knows how to make dials, and such things; and for cyphering, few can out-do’en.’ ‘Ay,’ says the gentleman, ‘he does look like a cypher indeed, for he did not speak three words all last night.’ The ostler now produced the boots,

boots, which the gentleman taking in his hand, and having placed himself in the chair, addressed in the following speech. ‘ My good friends, Mr Boots, I tell you plainly, that if you plague me so damnably as you did yesterday morning, by G— I’ll commit you to the flames; stamp my vitals, as my Lord Huntington says in the play.’ He then looked full in my face, and asked the landlord if he had ever been at Drury-Lane playhouse; which he answered in the negative. ‘ What,’ says he, ‘ did you never hear talk of Mr Garrick and King Richard?’ ‘ No, Sir,’ says the landlord. ‘ By G—’ says the gentleman, ‘ he is the cleverest fellow in England.’ He then spouted a speech out of King Richard, which begins, ‘ Give me an horse, &c.’ There,’ says he, ‘ that, that is just like Mr Garrick.’ Having pleased himself vastly with this performance, he shook the landlord by the hand with great good humour, and said, ‘ By G—, you seem to be an honest fellow, and good blood; if you’ll come and see me in London, I’ll give you your skin full of wine, and treat you with a play and a whore every night you stay. I’ll shew you how it is to live, my boy. But here, bring me some paper, my girl; come, let’s have one of your love-letters, to air my boots.’ Upon which the landlord presented him with a piece of an old newspaper. ‘ D—n you,’ says the gent. ‘ this is not half enough; have you never a Bible or Common-prayer-book in the house? half a dozen chapters of Genesis, with a few prayers, make an excellent fire in a pair of boots.’ ‘ Oh! Lord forgive you,’ says the landlord, ‘ sure you would not burn such books as those.’ ‘ No!’ cries the spark, ‘ where was you born? go into a shop of London, and buy some butter, or a quartern of tea, and then you’ll see what use is made of these books.’ ‘ Ay,’ says the landlord, ‘ we have a saying here in our country, that ’tis as sure as the devil is in London, and if he was not there, they could not be so wicked as they be.’ Here a country fellow, who had been standing up in one corner of the kitchen, eating of cold bacon and beans, and who, I observed, trembled

trembled at every oath this spark swore, took his dith and pot, and marched out of the kitchen, fearing, as I afterwards learnt, that the house would fall down about his ears; 'for he was sure,' he said, 'that man 'in the gold laced-hat was the devil.' The young spark, having now displayed all his wit and humour, and exerted his talents to the utmost, thought he had sufficiently recommended himself to my favour, and convinced me he was a gentleman. He therefore with an air addressed himself to me, and asked me, which way I was travelling? To which I gave him no answer. He then exalted his voice; but at my continuing silent, he asked the landlord if I was deaf? Upon which the landlord told him he did not believe the gentleman was dunch, for that he talked very well just now. The man of wit whispered in the landlord's ear, and said, 'I suppose he is either a parson or a fool.' He then drank a dram, observing that a man should not cool too fast; paid six-pence more than his reckoning, called for his horse, gave the ostler a shilling, and galloped out of the inn, thoroughly satisfied that we all agreed with him in thinking him a clever fellow, and a man of great importance. The landlord smiling, took up his money, and said he was a comical gentleman, but that it was a thousand pities he swore so much; if it was not for that, he was a very good customer, and as generous as a prince, for that the night before, he had treated every body in the house. I then asked him, if he knew that comical gentleman as he called him? 'No really, Sir,' said the landlord, 'though a gentleman was saying last night, that he 'was a sort of rider, or ride-out to a linen-draper at 'London.' This, Mr Censor, I have since found to be true; for having occasion to buy some cloth, I went last week to a linen-draper's shop, in which I found a young fellow, whose decent behaviour and plain dress shewed he was a tradesman. Upon looking full in his face, I thought I had seen it before; nor was it long before I recollected where it was, and that this was the same beau I had met with in Somersetshire. The difference in the same man in London where he was known, and in the country where he

was

was a stranger, was beyond expression; and, was it not impertinent to make observations to you, I could enlarge upon this sort of behaviour; for I am firmly of opinion, that there is neither spirit nor good sense in oaths, nor any wit or humour in blasphemy. But as vulgar errors require an abler pen than mine to correct them, I shall leave that task to you, and am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

R. S.

NUMB. 34. TUESDAY, April 28.

Natio comædia est. JUVENAL.

We are a nation of players.

IT is the advice of Solomon, to train up a child in the way he should go; and this, in the opinion of Quintilian, can never be undertaken too early. He indeed begins his Institution even with the very nurse.

The wise man here very plainly supposes a previous determination in the parent in what he intends his child shall go: for without having fixed this with certainty, it will be impossible for any man to fulfil the precept.

Now all the ways of life, in which, in this country, men walk themselves, and in which they so manifestly intend to train their children, seem to me to be reducible to two, *viz.* the way of spending an estate, and the way of getting one. These may indeed, in this sense, be called the two great high roads in this kingdom.

As to the former, it is much the less beaten and frequented track, as it requires a certain viaticum, obvious to the reader, which is not in the possession of every one: in this way, therefore, the eldest sons of great families, and heirs of great estates, can only be trained. The methods of training here, are no

more

more than twofold, both very easy and apposite; it is therefore no wonder that they are both pursued with very little deviation by almost every parent. The one, which is universally practised in the country, contains very few rules, and these extremely simple; such as drinking, racing, cock-fighting, hunting, with other rural exercises. The other, which is proper to the town, and indeed to the higher people, is somewhat more complex. This includes dancing, fencing, whoring, gaming, travelling, dressing, French connoisseurship, and perhaps two or three other less material articles.

But the great and difficult point is that of training youth in the other great road, namely, in the way to get an estate. Here, as in our journey over vast and wide plains, the many different tracks are apt to beget uncertainty and confusion, and we are often extremely puzzled which of these to chuse for ourselves, and which to recommend to our children.

The most beaten tracks in this road are those of the professions, such as the church, the law, the army, &c. In some one of these, the younger children of the nobility and gentry have usually been trained, often with very ill success; arising sometimes from a partial opinion of the talents of the child, and more often from flattering ourselves with hopes of more interest with the great than we have really had.

To all these professions many things may be objected, as we shall presently see, when we compare them with a path in life, which I am about to recommend to my reader, and which we shall find clear from most of the objections that may be raised against any other.

Without further preface, the way of life which I mean to recommend, is that of the stage, in which I shall hope, for the future, to see several of our young nobility and gentry trained up, and particularly those of the most promising parts.

In the *first* place then, the stage at present promises a much better provision than any of the professions: for though perhaps it is true that there are in the church, the law, the state, the army, &c. some few posts which yield the possessors greater profit than is
to

to be acquired on the stage ; yet these bear no proportion to the infinite numbers who are trained in the several professions, and who almost literally starve. The income of an actor of any rank, is from six to twelve hundred a-year ; whereas, that of two-thirds of the gentlemen of the army is considerably under one hundred ; the income of nine-tenths of the clergy is less than fifty pounds a year ; and the profits in the law, to ninety-nine in a hundred, amount not to a single shilling.

And as for those few posts of great emolument, upon which we all cast our eyes, as the adventurers in a lottery do on the few great prizes, if we impartially examine our own abilities, how few of us shall dare to aspire so high ? whereas, on the stage, scarce any abilities are required, and we see men, whom nobody allows to deserve the name of actors, enjoying salaries of three, four, and five hundred a-year.

Again, if we consider the great pains and time, the head-achs, and the heart-achs, which lead up to the top of either the army or the law ;

*Qui studet optatum cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit, fecitque puer :*

this consideration will sufficiently discourage our attempts, especially when on the other hand we may on the stage leap all at once into eminence ; and if we expect no more than four or five hundred pound for the first year of our acting, our demands will be thought modest.

And further, in any of the professions, all our abilities will be thrown away, and all our time and labour lost, unless we have other ingredients to recommend us. Unless we have some powerful friend or relation, or some beautiful wife or sister, we shall never procure an opportunity of shewing the world what we are ; whereas, to the stage no interest is necessary to introduce you. The publishing the name of a gentleman who never acted before in the play-bills, will fill the house as surely as if he proposed to get into a bottle,

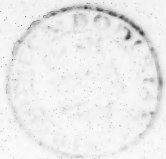
and no manager is ashamed of putting you at first into any of his principal parts.

And if we view this in the light of ambition, the stage will have no less advantage over the professions. To personate a great character three hours in the twenty-four, is a matter of more consequence than it is generally esteemed. The world itself is commonly called a stage; and, in the eye of the greatest philosophers, the actions in both appear to be equally real, and of equal consequence. Where then is the mighty difference between personating a great man on the great theatre, or on the less? In both cases we often assume that character when it doth not really belong to us; and a very indifferent player acts it sometimes better than his Right Honourable brother, and with ten thousand times the applause.

It was not therefore without reason that our worthy Laureat, in the excellent apology for his life, gave thanks to Providence that he did not in his youth betake himself either to the gown or the sword. Wife, indeed, as well as happy was his choice, as many of his contemporaries, whose ill stars led them to the way of those professions, had the question been put to them on their death-bed, must have acknowledged. How many of these his contemporaries, who have professed the laws or religion of their country; how many others, who have fought its battles, after an obscure and wretched life of want and misery, have bequeathed their families to the stalls and the streets?

That the reverse hath been the fate of this gentleman, I need not mention, and am pleased to think. And yet in the days of his acting, nothing like to the present encouragement was given on the stage. Mrs Oldfield herself (as I have been informed) had not half the theatrical income of our present principal actresses. To what greater height it may rise, I know not; but from the present flourishing condition of the stage, and from the proportionable decline of the learned professions, I think it may be prophesied, that it will be as common hereafter to say, that such a particular estate was got by the stage, as it was formerly to see great houses rise by the law.

NUMB. 35. SATURDAY, May 2.



Ἀπόλαίτο πρῶτος αὐτὸς

Ὁ τὸν ἀργυρὸν φιλέσας.

Διὰ τῦτον ἐκ ἀδελφῆς,

Διὰ τῦτον ἢ τοῦτ'.

Πόλεμοι, γένοι δὲ αὐτῶν.

ANACREON.

[See the translation afterwards.]

T O

Sir ALEXANDER DRAWCANSIR.

Bedlam, April 1, 1752.

S I R,

I MAKE no question but, before you have read half through my letter, you will be surpris'd at its being dated as above; and may perhaps agree with the conclusion which I have made long ago, that this place is set apart by the English for the confinement of all those who have more sense than the rest of their countrymen.

However that be, I shall begin with telling you very bluntly, that, if you really intend to bring about any reformation in this kingdom, you will certainly mis your end, and for this simple reason, because you are absolutely mistaken in the means.

Physicians affirm, that before any vicious habits can be repaired in the natural constitution, it is necessary to know and to remove their cause. The same holds true in the political. Without this in both instances we may possibly patch up and palliate, but never can effectually cure.

Now, Sir, give me leave to say, you do not appear to me to have in the least guessed at the true source of all our political evils; neither do you seem to be in any likelihood of ever acquiring even a glimpse of any such

such knowledge. It is no wonder therefore, that, instead of pursuing the true method of cure, you should more than once, in the course of your lucubrations, have thrown out hints which would actually tend to heighten the disease.

Know then, Sir, that it is I alone who have penetrated to the very bottom of all the evil. With infinite pains and study I have discovered the certain cause of all that national corruption, luxury, and immorality, which have polluted our morals; and of consequence it is I alone who am capable of prescribing the cure.

But when I lay this sole claim to such discovery, I would be understood to have respect only to the moderns. To the philosophers among the ancients, and to some of their poets, I am well apprised that this invaluable secret was well known, as I could prove by numberless quotations. It occurs indeed so very often in their works, that I am not a little surprised how it came to escape the observation of a gentleman who seems to have been so conversant with those illustrious lamps of real knowledge and learning.

Without further preface then, what is the true fountain of that complication of political diseases which infects this nation, but money? Money! which, as the Greek poet says in my motto, 'may he perish that first invented; for this it is which destroys the relation of brother and of parent, and which introduces wars and every kind of bloodshed into the world.'

If this be granted, as it surely must, where is the remedy? Is it not, to remove the fatal cause, by extirpating this poisonous metal, this Pandora's box, out of the nation?

But though the advantages arising from this abolition, are, in my opinion, extremely self-evident; yet as they may possibly not strike with equal force upon the minds of others, since no man hath in my memory given the least obscure hint of such a project, I shall mention some few of the greatest; and, to avoid a common-place of those authors I have above men-

tioned, I shall confine myself to such instances as particularly affect this country.

First, then, It would effectually put an end to all that corruption which every man almost complains of, and of which every man almost partakes ; for by these means those contentions which have begun and continued this corruption, and which always will continue it, will immediately subside. The struggle will be then, not who shall serve their country in great and difficult posts and employments ; but who shall be excused from serving it ; and the people being left to themselves, will always fix upon the most capable, who, by the fundamental laws of our constitution, will be compelled to enter into their service. Thus a certain method called election, which is of very singular use in a nation of freedom, will be again revived ; otherwise it may possibly sink only to a name.

For though I admit it possible, that bare ambition may incite some persons to attempt employments for which they are utterly unfit, yet the very powers of bribery would be thus taken away, or would be rendered so public, that it would then be easily within the power of law to suppress it : for no man could distribute a herd of cattle, or a flock of sheep in private.

Secondly, This method would effectually put a stop to luxury, or would reduce it to that which was the luxury of our ancestors, and which may more properly be called hospitality.

Thirdly, It would be of the highest advantage to trade, for it would prevent our dealing any longer with those bloodsucking nations, who take not our own commodities in barter for theirs. This kind of traffic, I might perhaps be expected to speak more favourably of, as it so plainly tends to remove the evil of which I complain, and in process of time would possibly effect that excellent purpose. But I must observe, that, however advantageous the end may be, the means are not so adviseable ; nay, if we suffer any money to remain among us, I think there may be good reasons shewed, why we should retain as much as we can. It is often indeed mischievous to do that by halves,

halves, which it would be highly useful to do effectually: for this must certainly be allowed, that, while money is permitted to be the representative of all things, as it is at present, none but a nation of idiots would constantly put it into the hands of their enemies.

Fourthly, It would restore certain excellent things, such as piety, virtue, honour, goodness, learning, &c. all which are totally abolished by money, or so counterfeited by it, that no one can tell the true from the false: the word Rich indeed is at present considered, to signify them all; but of this enough may be found in the old philosophers and poets, whom I have before mentioned.

Again, how desirous would the lawyers be to put a speedy end to a suit, or the physical people to a disease, if once my scheme should take place? It may be said indeed, that they would then carry away men's goods and chattels, as they do now from those who have no money. But I answer, that this is done in order to convert them into money; for otherwise, they would hardly admit the ragged and lousy bed of a poor wretch into their houses.

For the same reason my scheme would effectually put an end to all robberies; a matter which seems so much to puzzle the legislature: for though our goods are sometimes stolen as well as our money, yet the former are only taken in order to convert them into the latter. It is not the use, but the value of a watch, snuff-box, or ring, that is considered by the robber, who always thinks with Hudibras,

‘ What is the worth of any thing,
‘ But so much money as ’twill bring?’

I shall add but one particular more; which is, that my scheme would most certainly provide for the poor; and that by an infallible (perhaps the only infallible) method, by removing the rich. Where there are no rich, there will of consequence be found no poor: for providence hath in a wonderful manner provided in

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every country a plentiful subsistence for all its inhabitants; and where none abound, none can want.

Having long meditated on this excellent scheme, so long that, if you will believe some people, I have cracked my brain, I was resolved to acquit myself and to shew, by way of example, how fully I was convinced of the truth of my principles. I therefore converted an estate of three hundred pounds a year into money; of this I put a competent sum in my pocket, and took my next heir with me upon the Thames, where I began to unload my pockets into the water. But I had scarce discharged three handfuls, before my heir seized me, and, with the assistance of the waterman, conveyed me back to shore. I was for a day secured in an apartment of my own house; and thence the next morning, by a conspiracy among my relations, brought hither, where I am like to remain, till the rest of mankind return to their senses.

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient servant,
MIS ARGURUS.

NUMB. 37. SATURDAY, May 9.

Scilicet in vulgus manent exempla regentum.

CLAUDIAN.

The creatures will endeavour to ape their betters.

THERE are many phrases that custom renders familiar to our ears, which, when looked into, and closely examined, will appear extremely strange, and of which it must greatly puzzle a very learned etymologist to account for the original.

Of this sort is the term, *People of fashion*; an expression of such very common use, and so universally understood, that it is entirely needless to set down here what is meant by it: but how it first acquired its present meaning, and became a title of honour and distinction,

inction, is a point, I apprehend, of no small difficulty to determine.

I have, on this occasion, consulted several of my friends, who are well skilled in etymology. One of these traces the word Fashion through the French language up to the Latin. He brings it from the verb *facio*, which, among other things, signifies *to do*. Hence he supposes *people of fashion*, according to the old derivation of *lucus a non lucendo*, to be spoken of those who do nothing. But this is too general, and would include all the beggars in the nation.

Another carries the original no farther than the French word *façon*, which is often used to signify affectation. This likewise will extend too far, and will comprehend attorneys clerks, apprentices, milliners, mantuamakers, and an infinite number of the lower people.

A third will bring Fashion from $\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$. This in the genitive plural makes $\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omega\upsilon$, which in English is the very word. According to him, by people of fashion, are meant people whose essence consisteth in appearances, and who, while they seem to be something, are really nothing.

But though I am well apprised that much may be said to support this derivation, there is a fourth opinion, which, to speak in the proper language, hath yet a more smiling aspect. This supposes the word Fashion to be a corruption from Fascination, and that these people were formerly believed by the vulgar to be a kind of conjurers, and to possess a species of the black art.

In support of this opinion, my friend urges the use which these people have always made of the word Circle, and the pretence to be enclosed in a certain circle, like so many conjurers, and by such means to keep the vulgar at a distance from them.

To this purpose likewise he quotes the phrases, 'a polite circle, the circle of one's acquaintance, people that live within a certain circle,' and many others. From all which he infers, that in those dark and ignorant ages, when conjurers were held in more estimation than they are at present, the credulous vulgar
believed

believed these people to be of the number, and consequently called them *people of fascination*, which hath been since corrupted into *people of fashion*.

However whimsical this opinion may seem, or however far-fetched the derivation may sound to those who have not much considered the barbarous corruption of language, I must observe in its favour, how difficult it is, by any other method, to account not only for that odd phrase, 'people of fashion;' but likewise for that circle within which those people have always affected to live.

Even now, when conjurers have been long laughed out of the world, the pretence to the circle is nevertheless maintained; and within the circle the people of fascination do actually insist upon living at this day.

It is moreover extremely pleasant to observe what wonderful care these people take to preserve their circle safe and inviolate, and with how jealous an eye they guard against any intrusion of those whom they are pleased to call the vulgar; who are, on the other hand, as vigilant to watch, and as active to improve, every opportunity of invading this circle, and breaking into it.

Within the memory of many now living, the circle of the people of fascination included the whole parish of Covent-Garden, and great part of St Giles's in the fields; but here the enemy broke in, and the circle was presently contracted to Leicester-Fields, and Golden-Square. Hence the people of fashion again retreated before the foe to Hanover-Square; whence they were once more driven to Grosvenor-Square, and even beyond it, and that with such precipitation, that, had they not been stopped by the walls of Hyde-Park, it is more than probable they would by this time have arrived at Kensington.

In many other instances we may remark the same flight of these people, and the same pursuit of their enemies. They first contrived a certain vehicle called a hackney-coach, to avoid the approach of the foe in the open streets. Hence they were soon routed, and obliged to take shelter in coaches of their own. Nor did this protect them long. The enemy likewise in
great

great numbers mounted into the same armed vehicles*. The people of fascination then betook themselves to chairs; in which their exempt privileges being again invaded, I am informed that several ladies of quality have bespoke a kind of couch somewhat like the Lectica of the Romans; in which they are next winter to be carried through the streets upon men's shoulders.

The reader will be pleased to observe, that, beside the local circle which I have described above, there is an imaginary or figurative one, which is invaded by every imitation of the vulgar.

Thus those people of fascination, or, if they like it better, of fashion, who found it convenient to remain still in coaches, observing that several of the enemy had lately exhibited arms on their vehicles, by which means those ornaments became vulgar and common, immediately ordered their own arms to be blotted out, and a cypher substituted in their room; perhaps cunningly contriving to represent themselves instead of their ancestors.

Numberless are the devices made use of by the people of fashion of both sexes, to avoid the pursuit of the vulgar, and to preserve the purity of the circle. Sometimes the perriwig covers the whole bean, and he peeps forth from the midst like an owl in an ivy-bush; at other times, his ears stand up behind half a dozen hairs, and give you the idea of a different animal. Sometimes a large black bag, with wings spread as broad as a raven's, adorns his back; at other times, a little lank silk appears, like a dead black-bird, in his neck. To-day he borrows the tail of a rat, and to-morrow that of a monkey; for he will transform himself into the likeness of the vilest animal, to avoid the resemblance of his own species.

Nor are the ladies less watchful of the enemy's motions, or less anxious to avoid them. What hoods and hats and caps and coifs have fallen a sacrifice in this pursuit! Within my memory the ladies of the circle covered their lovely necks with a cloak; this being

* Rather coat of arms.

routed by the enemy, was exchanged for the manteel; this again was succeeded by the pelorine; the pelorine by the neckatee; the neckatee by the capuchine; which hath now stood its ground a long time, but not without various changes of colour, shape, ornaments, &c.

And here I must not pass by the many admirable arts made use of by these ladies, to deceive and dodge their imitators; when they are hunted out in any favourite mode, the method is to lay it by for a time, and then to resume it again all at once, when the enemy least expect it. Thus patches appear and disappear several times in a season. I have myself seen the enemy in the pit, with faces all overspotted like a leopard, when the circle in the boxes have, with a conscious triumph, displayed their native alabaster, without a single blemish, though they had a few evenings before worn a thousand: within a month afterwards, the leopards have appeared in the boxes, to the great mortification of the fair faces in the pit.

In the same manner the ruff, after a long discontinuance, some time since began to revive in the circle, and advanced downwards, till it almost met the tucker. But no sooner did the enemy pursue, than it vanished all at once, and the boxes became a collection of little hills of snow, extremely delightful to the eyes of every beholder.

Of all the articles of distinction the hoop hath stood the longest, and with the most obstinate resistance. Instead of giving way, this, the more it hath been pushed, hath increased the more; till the enemy hath been compelled to give over the pursuit from mere necessity; it being found impossible to convey seven yards of hoop into a hackney-coach, or to slide with it behind a counter.

But as I have mentioned some of the arts of the circle, it would not be fair to be silent as to those of the enemy, among whom a certain citizen's wife distinguished herself very remarkably, and appeared long in the very top of the mode. It was at last however discovered that she used a very unfair practice, and kept

kept a private correspondence with one of those milliners who were entrusted with all the secrets of the circle.

NUMB. 42. TUESDAY, May 26.

— *Me literulas stulti docuere parentes.* MART.

*My father was a fool,
When he sent me to school.*

MR CENSOR,

IT hath been a common observation, ‘That great scholars know nothing of the world.’ The reason of this is not, as generally it is imagined, that the Greek and Latin languages have a natural tendency to vitiate the human understanding; but in solemn truth, gentlemen who obtain an early acquaintance with the manners and customs of the ancients, are too apt to form their ideas of their own times, on the patterns of ages which bear not the least resemblance to them. Hence they have fallen into the greatest errors and absurdities; and hence, I suppose was derived the observation above-mentioned.

Numberless are the instances which may be produced of these errors of the literati: so many indeed, that I have often thought there is no less difference between those nations of the world which are drawn from letters, and those which are drawn from men, than there is between the ideas of the human complexion, which are conceived by one in perfect health, and one in the jaundice.

Let us suppose a man, possessed of this jaundice of literature, conveyed into the levees of the great. What notion will he be likely to entertain of the several persons who compose that illustrious assembly, from their behaviour? How will he be puzzled when he is told that he hath before his eyes a number of freemen? How much more will he be amazed, when he hears that all the servility he there beholds, arises only

only from an eager desire of being permitted to serve the public ?

Again, convey the same gentleman to a hunting-match, a horse-race, or any other meeting of patriots : will he not immediately conclude from all the roaring and ranting, the hollowing and huzzaing, the gaming and drinking, which he will there observe, that he is actually present at the orgia of Bacchus, or the celebration of some such festival ? How then will he be astonished to find that he is in the company of a sett of honest fellows, who are the guardians of liberty, and are actually getting drunk in the service of their country !

Introduce him next to a drum or a rout, and if the blaze of beauty doth not blind him to any other contemplation, how greatly superior will he think the British ladies to all those of Greece and Rome—at their needles ? When he views all the excellent decorations of art which set off the persons of his fair countrywomen, how will he despise all the compliments paid heretofore to the personages of the Greek and Roman ladies of quality, who claimed a preference over each other from their superior skill in handling their needles ! But what must be his amazement, when he is assured that not one of these ladies ever handled any such instrument ; that all the ornaments of the best dressed woman there are owing to the handy-work of others ; and that the whole business of the lives of all present, is only to toss about from the one to the other certain pieces of painted paper, being a pastime common to grown persons and children ; with this difference only, that the former play for the higher wagers !

What idea can we suppose such a person could conceive of the word Beau ; and if he could have no adequate notion of the word, much less would he be able to obtain any such notion of the thing ! Should he behold a little dapper effeminate spark, carried through the sunshine in a soft machine by two labourers ; his body dressed in all the tinsel which serves to trick up a harlot, and his hair appearing to have been decked by the same tire-woman with hers ; would

such a sight as this recall to the mind of our learned friend, any image of a Greek or Roman soldier? or could he be easily persuaded, that the insect before his eyes was a military commander, in rank a centurion, or perhaps a tribune?

In one particular, and in one alone, it is possible he might form a true judgment. The many eulogiums on the chastity of the ancient Spartan and Roman dames, and on the extraordinary modesty of their young females of rank, must give him a perfect idea of our present ladies of fashion.

With this single exception, I think I may aver, that a scholar, when he first comes to this town from the university, comes among a set of people, as entirely unknown to him, and of whom he hath no more heard or read, than if he was to be at once translated into one of the planets; the world in the town and that in the moon being equally strange to him, and equally unintelligible.

How wise therefore is the conduct of the present age, in laying aside that foolish custom of our ancestors, who used to throw away many of the most precious years of their sons lives by confining them to schools and universities; where what they learned, was so far from being of any use to them upon their coming into the world as it is called, that it served only to puzzle and mislead them. They were indeed obliged to unlearn all that had been taught them, before they could acquire that useful knowledge mentioned in the beginning of my paper.

Whereas by the present method of bringing youth to town, about the age of fifteen or sixteen, and entering them immediately in those several schools where the knowledge of the world is taught; such as the play-houses, gaming-houses, and bawdy-houses; a young gentleman of any tolerable docility becomes, at the age of eighteen, a perfect master of all the knowledge of the world at home; and it is then a proper time for him to set out on his travels into foreign parts, and to make himself acquainted with the world abroad.—This completes his education; and he returns at one and twenty, a most accomplished fine

gentleman ; having visited all the principal courts of Europe, and become versed in all their fashions, at a season of life when our dull forefathers knew nothing of those foreign people but from history, nor even of their countries but from geography.

It was my misfortune however to have a father of the antique way of thinking ; by which means, I lost the best part of my youth in turning over those books, in which I have said there is little useful to be learned. I remember a passage out of Horace, who is the best of them, and who seems to be very particularly a favourite of yours. His words are these,

*Vite summa brevis
Spem nos vetat inchoare longam.*

Which may be thus rendered after your paraphrastical manner : ‘ The shortness of life affords no time for ‘ a tedious education.’ How many indeed of my own acquaintance have I known to die of old age at twenty-five ! so that by the ancient method of educating our sons at schools and universities, a great part of them will be in danger of going out of the world before they know any thing of it.

‘ Life (says Mr Pope) can little more supply,
‘ Than just to look about us, and to die.’

Is it not therefore the duty of a father to give his son an opportunity of looking about him as soon as he can ?

I am, SIR,

Your humble servant,

TOM TELLTRUTH.

NUMB. 44. TUESDAY, June 2.

———*O bone, ne te
Frustrere, insanis et tu.*———HOR.

*My good friend, do not deceive thyself; for with all thy
charity, thou also art a silly fellow.*

I HAVE in a former paper endeavoured to shew that a rich man without charity is a rogue; and perhaps it would be no difficult matter to prove that he is also a fool. If a man, who doth not know his true interest, may be thought to deserve that appellation; in what light shall we behold a Christian, who neglects the cultivation of a virtue which is in scripture said to *wash away our sins*, and without which all his other good deeds cannot render him acceptable in the sight of his Creator and Redeemer?

Even in this world, it is surely much too narrow a view to confine a man's interest merely to that which loads his coffers. To pursue that which is most capable of giving him happiness, is indeed the interest of every man; and there are many who find great pleasure in emptying their purses with this view, to one who hath no other satisfaction than in filling it. Now what can give greater happiness to a good mind, than the reflection on having relieved the misery, or contributed to the well-being, of his fellow creature. It was a noble sentiment of the worthy Mr Thomas Firmin, 'That to relieve the poor, and provide work
' and subsistence for them, gave to him the same
' pleasure, as magnificent buildings, pleasant walks,
' well-cultivated orchards and gardens, the jollity of
' music and wine, or the charms of love and study,
' gave to others.' This is recorded in the life of a plain citizen of London, and it as well deserves to be quoted, as any one apophthegm that is to be found in all the works of Plutarch.

A Christian, therefore, or a good man though no Christian, who is void of charity, is ignorant of his own interest, and may with great propriety be called a silly fellow. Nay, if we will believe all the great writers whom I cited in my former paper, to which I might add Plato and many more, a mere human being who places all his happiness in selfish considerations, without any relative virtues, any regard to the good of others, is in plain truth a downright fool.

I have been encouraged to treat the want of charity with the more freedom, as I am certain of giving little offence to any of my readers by so doing. Charity is in fact the very characteristic of this nation at this time—I believe we may challenge the whole world to parallel the examples which we have of late given of this sensible, this noble, this christian virtue.

We cannot therefore surely be arraigned of folly, from the want of charity; but is our wisdom altogether as apparent in the manner of exerting it? I am afraid, the true answer here would not be so much to our advantage. Are our private donations generally directed by our judgment, to those who are the properest objects? Do not vanity, whim, and weakness, too often draw our purse-strings? Do we not sometimes give because it is the fashion, and sometimes because we cannot long resist importunity? May not our charity be often termed extravagance or folly; nay, is it not often vicious and apparently tending to the encrease and encouragement of idle and dissolute persons?

It would be almost endless to pretend to be particular on this head. I shall mention therefore only one instance, namely, the giving our money to common beggars. This kind of Bounty is a crime against the public. It is assisting in the continuance and promotion of a nuisance. Our wise ancestors prohibited it by a law, which would probably have remained in force and use to this day, had not the legislature conceived, that, after the severe penalties which have been since inflicted on beggars, none would have the boldness to become such; and that, after the sufficient legal provision which hath been made for the poor, no persons
would

would have so little regard, either to common sense or to the public, as to relieve them.

But, instead of staying to argue with such people, I shall hasten to the other branch of charity, which is of a public nature; of which there are many species in this kingdom.

The origin of this kind of charity, was no better than priestcraft and superstition. When men began to perceive the near approach of that great enemy of human nature, who was to deprive them of all their ill-gotten possessions, and not only so, but might, as they apprehended, deliver them into the hands of an Almighty justice, to punish them for all those knavish arts, by which these possessions were acquired; the priest stepped in, took advantage of the terrors of their consciences, and persuaded them, that by consigning over a great part (sometimes the whole) of their acquisitions to the use of the church, a pardon for all kind of villainy was sure to be obtained.

In this attempt, the priest found but little difficulty, when he had to do with a mind tainted with superstition, and weakened with disease; especially when he could back all his other arguments with one truth at least, namely—Give us that *which you can by no possible means keep any longer yourself.*

Thus the unwilling will, as Dr Barrow pleasantly calls it, was at last signed. The fruits of fraud and rapine were trusted to the use of the church, and the greatest rascals died very good saints, and their memories were consecrated to honour and good example.

How notably these attempts succeeded, is well known to all who are versed in our law or our history. So common was it for men to expiate their crimes in this manner; and to finish all their other robberies, by robbing their heirs; that, had not the legislature often and stoutly interfered in crushing these superstitious, or (as they were called) charitable uses, they seemed to have bid fair for swallowing up the whole property of the nation.

In process of time, however, the lawyer came to the assistance of the priest (for, like the devil, he is

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always ready at hand when called for) and formed a distinction between the superstitious and charitable use. Henceforward, instead of robbing their relations for the use of the church, a method was devised of robbing them for the use of the poor. Hence poor-houses, alms-houses, colleges and hospitals began to present themselves to the view of all travellers, being always situated in the most public places, and bearing the name and title of the generous founder in vast capital letters; a kind of ΚΤΗΜΑ ΕΞ ΑΕΙ, a monument of his glory to all generations.

Thus we see the foundation of this kind of charity, and a very strong one it is, being indeed no other than fear and vanity, the two strongest passions which are to be found in human nature.

It may be thought, perhaps, that I have omitted a third which some may imagine to be the strongest, and greatest of all, and this is benevolence, or the love of doing good: but that these charitable legacies have no such motive, appears to me from the following considerations.

First, If a man was possessed of real benevolence, and had (as he must then have) a delight in doing good, he would no more defer the enjoyment of this satisfaction to his death-bed, than the ambitious, the luxurious, or the vain, would wait till that period, for the gratification of their several passions.

Secondly, If the legacy be, as it often is, the first charitable donation of any consequence, I can never allow it possible to arise from benevolence: for he who hath no compassion for the distressed of his neighbours whom he hath seen, how should he have any pity for the wants of posterity which he will never see?

Thirdly, If the legacy be, as is likewise very common, to the injury of his family, or to the disappointment of his own friends in want, this is a certain proof, that his motive is not benevolence; for he who loves not his own friends and relations, most certainly loves no other person.

Lastly, If a man hath lived any time in the world, he must have observed such horrid and notorious abuses

abuses of all public charities, that he must be convinced (with a very few exceptions) that he will do no manner of good by contributing to them. Some, indeed, are so very wretchedly contrived in their institution, that they seem not to have had the public utility in their view, but to have been mere jobs *ab initio*. Such are all hospitals whatever, where it is a matter of favour to get a patient admitted, and where the forms of admission are so troublesome and tedious, that the properest objects (those I mean, who are most wretched and friendless) may as well aspire at a place at court, as at a place in the hospital.

From what I have here advanced, I know I have rendered myself liable to be represented by malice and ignorance as an enemy to all public charity. I hope to obviate this opinion effectually in a future paper, in which I shall endeavour to point out who are really the objects of our benevolence, as well as to propose some expedients by which the obstructions which attend some of our best-calculated charities of the public kind may be removed. I cannot, however, conclude this, without paying a compliment to the present age for two glorious benefactions, I mean that to the use of the foundling infants, and that for the accommodation of poor women in their lying-in.

NUMB. 47. SATURDAY, June 13.

— *Heu plebes scelerata!*

SIL. ITAL.

— *O ye wicked rascallions!*

IT may seem strange that none of our political writers, in their learned treatises on the English constitution, should take notice of any more than three estates, namely, King, Lords, and Commons, all entirely passing by in silence that very large and powerful body which form the fourth estate in this community, and have been long dignified and distinguished by the name of *the Mob*.

And

And this will seem still the more strange, when we consider that many of the great writers abovementioned have most incontestably belonged to this very body.

To say precisely at what time this fourth estate began first to figure in this commonwealth, or when the footsteps of that power which it enjoys at this day were first laid, must appear to be a matter of the highest difficulty, perhaps utterly impossible, from that deplorable silence which I have just mentioned. Certain however it is, that at the time of the Norman conquest, and long afterwards, the condition of this estate was very low and mean, those who composed it being in general called Villains; a word which did not then bear any very honourable idea, though not so bad a one perhaps as it hath since acquired.

The part which this fourth estate seem antiently to have claimed, was to watch over and controul the other three. This, indeed, they have seldom asserted in plain words, which is possibly the principal reason why our historians have never explicitly assigned them their share of power in the constitution, though this estate have so often exercised it, and so clearly asserted their right to it by force of arms; to wit, by fists, staves, knives, clubs, scythes, and other such offensive weapons.

The first instance which I remember of this was in the reign of Richard I. when they espoused the cause of religion, of which they have been always stout defenders, and destroyed a great number of Jews.

In the same reign we have another example in William Fitz-Osborne, alias Longbeard, a stout asserter of the rights of the fourth estate. These rights he defended in the city of London, at the head of a large party, and by force of the arms abovementioned; but was overpowered, and lost his life by means of a wooden machine called the gallows, which hath been very fatal to the chief champions of this estate; as it was in the reign of Henry III. to one Constantine, who having, at the head of a London mob, pulled down the house of the High Steward of Westminster,

minster, and committed some other little disorders of the like kind, maintained to the chief judiciary's face, That he had done nothing punishable by law, *i. e.* contrary to the rights of the fourth estate. He shared however the same fate with Mr Fitz-Osborne.

We find in this reign of Henry III. the power of the fourth estate grown to a very great height indeed; for whilst a treaty was on foot between that king and his barons, the mob of London thought proper not only to insult the queen with all manner of foul language, but likewise to throw stones and dirt at her. Of which assertion of their privilege, we hear of no other consequence than that the king was highly displeased; and indeed it seems to be allowed by most writers, that the mob, in this instance, went a little too far.

In the time of Edward II. there is another fact upon record, of a more bloody kind, though perhaps not more indecent: for the Bishop of Exeter being a little too busy in endeavouring to preserve the city of London for the king his master, the mob were pleased to cut his head off.

I omit many lesser instances, to come to that glorious assertion of the privileges of the mob under the great and mighty Wat Tyler, when they not only laid their claim to a share in the government, but in truth to exclude all the other estates. For this purpose, one John Staw, or Straw, or Ball, a great orator, who was let out of Maidstone-goal by the mob, in his harangues told them, that as all men were sons of Adam, there ought to be no distinction; and that it was their duty to reduce all men to perfect equality. This they immediately set about; and to do it in the most effectual manner, they cut off the heads of all the nobility, gentry, clergy, &c. who fell into their hands.

With these designs they encamped in a large body at Blackheath, whence they sent a message to King Richard II. to come and talk with them, in order to settle the government; and when this was not complied with, they marched to London, and the gates being opened by their friends, entered the city, burnt
and

and plundered the Duke of Lancaster's palace, that of the Archbishop, and many other great houses, and put to death all of the other three estates with whom they met, among whom were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Treasurer.

The unhappy end of this noble enterprise is so well known, that it need not be mentioned. The leader being taken off by the gallantry of the Lord Mayor, the whole army, like a body when the head is severed, fell instantly to the ground; whence many were afterwards lifted to that fatal machine, which is above taken notice of.

I shall pass by the exploits of Cade and Ket, and others. I think I have clearly demonstrated, that there is such a fourth estate as the mob, actually existing in our constitution; which, though, perhaps, for very politic reasons, they keep themselves generally, like the army of Mr Bayes, in disguise, have often issued from their lurking-places, and very stoutly maintained their power and their privileges in this community.

Nor hath this estate, or their claims, been unknown to the other three; on the contrary, we find, in our statute-books, numberless attempts to prevent their growing power, and to restrain them at least within some bounds; witness the many laws made against ribaunds, roberdsimen, drawlatches, walters, rogues, vagrants, vagabonds; by all which, and many other names, this fourth estate hath been from time to time dignified and distinguished.

Under all these appellations they are frequently named in our law-books; but I do not perfectly remember to have seen them mentioned under the term of the fourth estate in all my reading; nor do I recollect that any legislative or judicial power is expressly allowed to belong to them. And yet certain it is, that they have from time immemorial been used to exercise a judicial capacity in certain instances wherein the ordinary courts have been deficient for want of evidence; this being no let or hinderance to the administration of justice before the gentlemen who compose this fourth estate, who often proceed to judgment without

without any evidence at all. Nor must I omit the laudable expedition which is used on such occasions, their proceedings being entirely free from all those delays, which are so much complained of in other courts. I have indeed known a pick-pocket arrested, tried, convicted, and ducked almost to death, in less time than would have been consumed in reading his indictment at the Old-Baily. These delays they avoid chiefly by hearing only one side of the question, concluding, as judge Gripus did of old, that the contrary method serves only to introduce uncertainty and confusion.

I do not however pretend to affirm any thing of the legal original of this jurisdiction. I know the learned are greatly divided in their opinions concerning this matter, or rather perhaps in their inclinations; some being unwilling to allow any power at all to this estate, and others as stoutly contending, that it would be for the public good to deliver the sword of justice entirely into their hands.

So prevalent hath this latter opinion grown to be of modern days, that the fourth estate have been permitted to encroach in a most prodigious manner. What these encroachments have been, and the particular causes which have contributed to them, shall be the subject of my next Saturday's paper.

NUMB. 48. TUESDAY, June 16.

Ὁ μέγιστε τῶν θεῶν
Νῦν ἴσ', Ἀναΐδα.

MENANDER.

*O thou greatest of all the deities,
Modern Impudence.*

THERE is a certain quality, which, though universal consent hath not enrolled it among the cardinal virtues, is often found sufficient, of itself, not only to carry its possessor through the world, but even to carry him to the top of it. It is almost perhaps unnecessary to inform my reader, that the quality

lity I mean, is Impudence ; so dear is this to one female at least, that it effectually recommends a man to Fortune without the assistance of any other qualification. She seems indeed to think, with the poet, that,

‘ —He who hath but impudence,
 ‘ To all things hath a fair pretence ;’

and accordingly provides that those who want modesty, shall want nothing else.

What are the particular ingredients of which this quality is composed, or what temper of mind is best fitted to produce it, is perhaps difficult to ascertain ; so far I think experience may convince us, that, like some vegetables, it will flourish best in the most barren soil. To say truth, I am almost inclined to an opinion, that it never arrives at any great degree of perfection unless in a mind totally unincumbered with any virtue, or with any great or good quality whatever. It would indeed seem that nature had agreed with fortune, in setting a high value on impudence, and had accordingly decreed that those of her children, who had received this rich gift at her hands, were amply provided for without any further portion.

And surely it is not without reason that I call this the gift of nature ; indeed, genius itself is not more so. We may here apply a phrase which the French use on an occasion not so proper to be mentioned, and affirm, ‘ That it is not in the power of every man to be impudent who would be so.’ A man, born without any genius, may as reasonably hope to become such a poet as Homer, or such a critic as Longinus ; as one born without impudence can pretend, without any merit, to aspire to these characters.

Though nature however must give the seeds, art may cultivate them. To improve or to depress their growth, is greatly within the power of education. To lay down the proper precepts for this purpose, would require a large treatise, and such I may possibly publish hereafter. In the mean time it shall suffice to mention only two rules, which may be partly collected from what I have above asserted, and which are of uni-

verfal use. This is with the utmoft care to fuppreſs and eradicate every feed or principle of what is any ways praiſeworthy out of the mind ; and ſecondly, to preſerve this in the pureſt ſtate of ignorance, than which nothing more contributes to the higheſt perfection and conſummation of impudence : the more a man knows, the more inclined is he to be modeſt ; it is indeed within the province only of the higheſt human knowledge to ſurvey its own narrow compaſs.

It may, I think, be predicated in favour of impudence, that it is the quality which, of all others, we are capable of carrying to the greateſt height ; ſo far, indeed, that, did not the ſtrongeſt force of evidence convince us of the truth of ſome examples, we ſhould be apt to doubt the poſſibility of their exiſtence. What, but the concurrent testimony of hiſtorians, and the indubitable veracity of records, could impel us to believe, that there have been men in the world of ſuch aſtoniſhing impudence, as, in oppoſition to the certain knowledge of many thouſands, to take upon themſelves to perſonate kings and princes, as well in their lifetime, as after their death ? and yet our own, as well as foreign annals, afford us ſuch inſtances.

But the greateſt hero in impudence, whom, perhaps, the world ever produced, appeared in France at the end of the laſt century. His name was Peter Mege, and he was a common ſoldier in the marines. This fellow had the aſſiſtance only of one who had been a footman to a certain man of quality, called Scipion le Brun de Caſtelane, Seigneur de Caille & de Rougon, a nobleman who had fled from France to Switzerland, to avoid a religious perſecution. With this confederate alone, Peter Mege had the amazing impudence to perſonate the young Seigneur de Caille, who was at that time dead ; and this in the life-time of the father, in defiance of all his noble relations then in poſſeſſion of his forfeited eſtate, upon the ſpot where the young gentleman had lived to the age of twenty-one ; and all this without the leaſt reſemblance of features, ſhape, or ſtature ; without being acquainted with any part of the hiſtory of him whom he was to reſent, or being able to give the leaſt account of any

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of his family; indeed, without being able to write and read.

But how much more will the reader be surprised to hear, that this most impudent of all attempts succeeded so far as to obtain a sentence in the parliament of Provence in favour of the soldier? And this success would have been final, had not the canton of Berne interposed, and obtained an appeal to the parliament of Paris, where at last the impostor was defeated.

To account for all this, and to assuage his reader's astonishment, the very ingenious author of the trial, when he informs us that this impostor was confronted with twenty witnesses, who swore to the identity of Peter Mege, and as many more who had been fellow-students with the young nobleman, and who, on their oaths, declared that this Peter was not the person, goes on thus: 'But what was most strange, was the steady countenance of the soldier, which never once betrayed him, nor gave the least symptom of any doubt of his success. It is in vain to form a project of usurping the name of another, to lay your plan ever so regularly and systematically, if you do not provide yourself with a stock of impudence to support every attack to which you may be exposed. In such an attempt, the forehead must be furnished as well without as within; more indeed will depend on the outside: for it is the steadiness of the front, hardiness, or downright audacity, which impose on mankind the most, and make amends for all defects in the understanding. The soldier had made many blunders; but his invincible assurance repaired all, and brought over even his enemies to his side.' And, to say truth, I know scarce any thing to which such a degree of assurance is not equal.

This attempt, indeed, of personating *who* you are not, seems to be attended with too great difficulties; and to succeed in it, is perhaps beyond the power of impudence; we are not therefore to wonder, that all the heroes in this way have been unsuccessful. In fact, we ought to fix our whole attention on the undaunted

daunted impudence of engaging in such a design, and not to suffer the defeat to lessen our admiration; but to say of such a hero, with Ovid,

—*Si non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis.*

But if, in personating the *who*, impudence is found unequal to the task; in personating *what* we are not, it is almost sure to come off triumphant. Here I believe the undertaker seldom fails, but through his own fault; that is, by not being impudent enough.

My Lord Bacon advises a modest man to shelter his vices under those virtues to which they are the nearest allied. The avaricious man, he would have to affect frugality; the extravagant, liberality; and so of the rest. Now the reverse of this should be the rule of our impudent man.—If you are a blockhead, my friend, be sure to commence writer; and if entirely illiterate, be sure to pretend to learning. If you are a coward, be a bully, and always talk of feats of bravery; if again you are a beggar, boast of your riches. In short, whatever vice or defect you have, set up for its opposite virtue or endowment. And if you are possessed of every ill quality, you may assert your title to every good one.

The last species of impudence which I shall mention, is to assert openly and boldly what you really are, let this be ever so bad. Own your vices, and be proud of them; and in time perhaps you may laugh virtue out of countenance, and bring your vices into fashion. This, however, is a little unsafe to attempt, unless you are very sure of yourself, and of the degree of impudence which you possess. A modest woman may be a w——e: but to behave with indecency in public; indeed, to throw off all that would recommend a woman to a vicious man of sense and taste; to shew, as De Roty says of a court lady, not the least sense of virtue in the practice of every vice; this requires the highest degree of impudence; that degree indeed, which is inconsistent with every great and good quality whatever.

NUMB. 49. SATURDAY, June 20.

Odi profanum vulgus.

HOR.

I hate the mob.

IN a former paper, I have endeavoured to trace the rise and progress of the power of the fourth estate in this constitution. I shall now examine that share of power which they actually enjoy at this day, and then proceed to consider the several means by which they have attained it.

First, though this estate have not *as yet* claimed that right which was insisted on by the people or mob in old Rome, of giving a negative voice in the enacting laws, they have clearly exercised this power in controlling their execution. Of this it is easy to give many instances, particularly in the case of the gin-act some years ago; and in those of several turnpikes which have been erected against the good-will and pleasure of the mob, and have by them been demolished.

In opposing the execution of such laws, they do not always rely on force; but have frequent recourse to the most refined policy: for sometimes, without openly expressing their disapprobation, they take the most effectual means to prevent the carrying a law into execution; those are by discountenancing all those who endeavour to prosecute the offences committed against it.

They well know, that the courts of justice cannot proceed without informations; if they can stifle these, the law of course becomes dead and useless. The informers therefore, in such cases, they declare to be infamous, and guilty of the crime *læse mobilitatis*. Of this whoever is suspected (which is with them a synonymous term with convicted) is immediately punished by buffetting, kicking, stoning, ducking, bemudding, &c. in short, by all those means of putting (sometimes quite, sometimes almost) to death, which are called by that general phrase of Mobbing.

It

It may perhaps be said, that the mob do, even at this day, connive at the execution of some laws, which they can by no means be supposed to approve.

Such are the laws against robbery, burglary, and theft. This is, I confess, true; and I have often wondered that it is so. The reason perhaps is, the great love which the mob have for a holiday, and the great pleasure they take in seeing men hanged; so great, that, while they are enjoying it, they are all apt to forget, that this hereafter, in all probability, is to be their own fate.

In all these matters however, the power of this estate is rather felt than seen. It seems indeed to be like that power of the crown in France, which Cardinal de Retz compares to those religious mysteries that are performed in the *sanctum sanctorum*; and which, though it be often exercised, is never expressly claimed.

In other instances, the fourth estate is much more explicit in their pretensions, and much more constant in asserting and maintaining them; of which I shall mention some of the principal.

First, they assert an exclusive right to the river of Thames. It is true, the other estates do sometimes venture themselves upon the river; but this is only upon sufferance; for which they pay whatever that branch of the fourth estate, called watermen, are pleased to exact of them. Nor are the mob contented with all these exactions. They grumble whenever they meet any persons in a boat, whose dress declares them to be of a different order from themselves. Sometimes they carry their resentment so far, as to endeavour to run against the boat, and overset it; but if they are too good-natured to attempt this, they never fail to attack the passengers with all kind of scurrilous, abusive, and indecent terms, which indeed they claim as their own, and call mob language.

The second exclusive right which they insist on, is to those parts of the streets, that are set apart for the foot-passengers. In asserting this privilege, they are extremely rigorous; insomuch, that none of the other orders can walk through the streets by day without be-

ing insulted, nor by night without being knocked down. And the better to secure these footpaths to themselves, they take effectual care to keep the said paths always well blocked up with chairs, wheelbarrows, and every other kind of obstruction; in order to break the legs of all those who shall presume to encroach upon their privileges by walking the streets.

Here it was hoped their pretensions would have stopped; but it is difficult to set any bounds to ambition; for, having sufficiently established this right, they now begin to assert their right to the whole street, and have lately made such a disposition with their waggons, carts, and drays, that no coach can pass along without the utmost difficulty and danger. With this view we every day see them driving side by side, and sometimes in the broader streets three a-breast; again, we see them leaving a cart or waggon in the midst of the street, and often set a-cross it, while the driver repairs to a neighbouring alehouse, from the window of which he diverts himself, while he is drinking, with the mischief or inconvenience which his vehicle occasions.

The same pretensions which they make to the possession of the streets, they make likewise to the possession of the high-ways. I doubt not, I shall be told they claim only an equal right: for I know it is very usual when a carter or dray-man is civilly desired to make a little room, by moving out of the middle of the road, either to the right or left, to hear the following answer: ‘D—n your eyes, who are you? Is not the road, and be d—n’d to you, as free for me as you?’ Hence it will, I suppose, be inferred that they do not absolutely exclude the other estates from the use of the common high-ways. But notwithstanding this generous concession in words, I do aver their practice is different, and that a gentleman may go a voyage at sea with little more hazard than he can travel ten miles from the metropolis.

I shall mention only one claim more, and that a very new and a very extraordinary one. It is the right of excluding all women of fashion out of St James’s-Park on a Sunday evening. This they have lately

lately asserted with great vehemence, and have inflicted the punishment of mobbing on several ladies, who had transgressed without design, not having been apprised of the good pleasure of the mob in this point. And this I the rather publish to prevent any such transgressions for the future, since it hath already appeared, that no degree of either dignity or beauty can secure the offenders *.

Many things have contributed to raise this fourth estate to that exorbitant degree of power which they at present enjoy, and which seems to threaten to shake the balance of our constitution. I shall name only three, as these appear to me to have had much the greatest share in bringing it about.

The first is that act of parliament, which was made at the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and which I cannot help considering as a kind of compromise between the other three estates and this. By this act it was stipulated, that the fourth estate should annually receive out of the possessions of the others, a certain large proportion yearly, upon an implied condition (for no such was expressed) that they should suffer the other estates to enjoy the rest of their property without loss or molestation.

This law gave a new turn to the minds of the mobility. They found themselves no longer obliged to depend on the charity of their neighbours, nor on their own industry for a maintenance. They now looked on themselves as joint-proprietors in the land, and celebrated their independency in songs of triumph; witness the old ballad which was in all their mouths,

‘ Hang sorrow, cast away care ;
‘ The parish is bound to find us, &c.’

A second cause of their present elevation has been the private quarrels between particular members of the other estates, who, on such occasions, have done all they could on both sides to raise the power of the

* A lady of great quality, and admirable beauty, was mobbed in the Park at this time.

mob,

mob, in order to avail themselves of it, and to employ it against their enemies.

The third and the last which I shall mention is, the mistaken idea which some particular persons have always entertained of the word Liberty; but this will open too copious a subject, and shall be therefore treated in a future paper.

But before I dismiss this, I must observe, that there are two sorts of persons of whom this fourth estate do yet stand in some awe, and whom consequently they have in great abhorrence: these are a justice of peace, and a soldier. To these two it is entirely owing that they have not long since rooted all the other orders out of the commonwealth.

NUMB 51. SATURDAY, JUNE 27.

Hæ tibi erunt artes.—

VIRG.

These must be your golden rules.

OF all the manufactures, there is none at present in a more flourishing condition, or which hath received more considerable improvements of late years, than the manufacture of paper. To such perfection is this brought at present, that it almost promises to rival the great staple commodity of this kingdom.

The two principal branches of this manufacture are carried on by painting and printing. To what a degree of excellence the artists are arrived in the former, I need not mention. Our painted paper is scarce distinguishable from the finest silk; and there is scarce a modern house, which hath not one or more rooms lined with this furniture.

But however valuable this branch may be, it is by no means equal to that which is carried on by printing. Of such consequence, indeed, to the public may this part of the paper-manufacture be made, that I doubt not but that, with proper care, it would be capable of finding an ample provision for the poor. To
which

which purpose it seems better adapted than any other, for a reason which I shall presently assign.

Of printing likewise, there are two kinds; that of the rolling, and that of the letter press,—or perhaps I shall be better understood by most of my readers, by the terms Prints and Books.

The former (though of infinitely the less consequence) hath been of late much improved; and tho' it doth not consume a great quantity of paper, doth however employ a great number of hands. This was formerly an inconsiderable business, and very few got their bread by it; but some ingenious persons have of late so greatly extended it, that there are at present almost as many print-shops as there are bakers in this metropolis.

This improvement hath been owing to a deep penetration into human nature, by which it hath been discovered, that there are two lights, which the generality of mankind do hunger after with little less avidity than after their daily bread. The one is to behold certain parts which are severally common to one half of the species exhibited to view, in the most amiable and inviting manner; the other is to see certain faces, which belong to individuals, exposed in a ridiculous and contemptible light. By feeding both which appetites, the printmakers have very plentifully fed themselves.

I come now to the second branch of printing, namely, to that which is performed at the letter-press, and which consists of books, pamphlets, papers, &c. The flourishing state of this manufacture needs no kind of proof. It is indeed certain, that more paper is now consumed this way in a week, than was formerly the consumption of a year.

To this notable encrease, nothing perhaps hath more contributed, than the new invention of writing without the qualifications of any genius or learning. The first printers, possibly misled by an old precept in one Horace, seem to have imagined, that both those ingredients were necessary in the writer; and accordingly we find they employed themselves on such samples only, as were produced by men in whom ge-

nus and learning concurred: but modern times have discovered, that the trade is very well to be carried on without either; and this by introducing several new kind of wares, the manufacture of which is extremely easy, as well as extremely lucrative. The principal of these are blasphemy, treason, bawdry and scandal. For in the making up of all these, the qualifications above-mentioned, together with that modesty which is inseparable from them, would be rather an incumbrance than of any real use.

No sooner were these new-fashioned wares brought to market, than the paper merchants, commonly called booksellers, found so immense a demand for them, that their business was to find hands sufficient to supply the wants of the public. In this, however, they had no great difficulty, as the work was so extremely easy, that no talents whatever (except that of being able to write) not even the capacity of spelling, were requisite.

The methods however which have been used by the paper-merchants to make these new-fashioned wares universally known, are very ingenious and worthy our notice.

The first of these methods was for the merchant himself to mount in the most public part of the town into a wooden machine called the pillory, where he stood for the space of an hour proclaiming his goods to all that passed that way. This was practised with much success by the late Mr Curl, Mr Milt, and others, who never failed of selling several large bales of goods in this manner.

Notwithstanding, however, the profits arising from this method of publication, it was not without objections; for several wanton persons among the mob were used on such occasions to divert themselves by pelting the merchant while he stood exposed on the *publishing-stool*, with rotten eggs and other mischievous implements, by which means he often came off much bedawbed, and sometimes not without bodily hurt.

Some of the more cunning therefore among the merchants began to decline this practice themselves,
and

and employed their understrappers, that is to say, their writers for such purposes: for it was conceived a piece of blasphemy, bawdry, &c. would be as well sold by exhibiting the author as by exhibiting the bookseller.

Of this probably they received the first hint from the case of one Mr Richard Savage; an author whose manufactures had long lain uncalled for in the warehouse, till he happened very fortunately for his bookseller to be found guilty of a capital crime at the Old-Baily. The merchant instantly took the hint, and the very next day advertised the works of Mr Savage, now under sentence of death for murder. This device succeeded, and immediately (to use their phrase) carried off the whole impression.

Encouraged by this success, the merchant, not doubting the execution of his author, bade very high for his dying speech, which was accordingly penned and delivered. Savage, however, was, contrary to all expectation, pardoned, and would have returned the money; but the merchant insisted on his bargain, and published the dying speech which Mr Savage should have made at Tyburn, of which, it is probable, as many were sold as there were people in town who could read.

The gallows being found to be a great friend to the press, the merchants for the future made it their chief care to provide themselves with such writers, as were most likely to call in this assistance; in other words, who were in the fairest way of being hanged; and though they have not always succeeded to their wish, yet, whoever is well read in the productions of the last twenty years, will be more inclined perhaps to blame the law, than the sagacity of the booksellers.

The whipping-post hath been likewise of eminent use to the same purposes; and though perhaps this may raise less curiosity than the gallows, in one instance at least it hath visibly the advantage: for an author, though he may deserve it often, can be hanged but once, but he may be whipped several times, indeed six times by one sentence, of which we have

lately seen an instance in the person of Stroud, who is a strong proof of the great profits which the paper-merchants derive from the whipping one of their manufacturers.

Mr Stroud, in imitation of several eminent persons, thought proper to publish an apology for his life. The public, however, were less kind to him, than they had been to other great apologists, and treated his performance with contempt. But no sooner was he tied to the cart's tail, than the work began to sell in great numbers; and this sale revived with every monthly whipping; so that if he had been whipped, as some imagined he was to have been, once a month during life, the merchant possibly might have sold as many bales of his works as have been sold of those of Swift himself.

I shall conclude with hoping, that, as the merchants seem at present to have their eye chiefly on the whipping-post for the advancement of their manufactures, it is to be hoped courts of justice will do all that in them lyes, to encourage a trade of such wonderful benefit to the kingdom, and which seems more likely than any other to provide a maintenance for our poor; as no qualification is required to the production of these wares, besides that of being able to write, nor any tools or stock to set up a manufacturer, besides a pen and ink, and a small quantity of paper; so that an author may indeed be equipped at a cheaper rate than a blacker of shoes.

NUMB. 53. SATURDAY, July 4.

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor biatu? HOR.

What will this Gascon be able to perform after this puff?

TO the CENSOR OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

SIR,

YOUR predecessors in the censorship were used to celebrate the several extraordinary personages who appeared in their time. As I doubt not to find in yourself the same good disposition, I here send you an advertisement printed in the Daily Advertiser of Monday last; the author of which must, I think, be esteemed the most extraordinary person whom any age hath produced.

‘ UN François, homme de lettres, est arrivée
 ‘ de Paris à Londres, pour y enseigner le François,
 ‘ la Fable, la Poésie, la Blason, la Philosophie Fran-
 ‘ çoise, le Latin, sans exiger aucune étude de son dis-
 ‘ ciple; l’étude étant un obstacle à sa méthode. S’il
 ‘ y a des temperamens trop foibles pour les con-
 ‘ traindre, des caractères trop vifs pour les fixer, des per-
 ‘ sonnes trop âgées pour s’appliquer à l’étude, & qu’ils
 ‘ veuillent apprendre quelque-une de ces sciences sur
 ‘ une méthode si simple, plus courte, & plus solide
 ‘ que tout ce qui a précédé; they are desired to en-
 ‘ quire at Mr Bezançon’s Snuff-shop, in Little-Earl-
 ‘ Street, the Black-Boy, by the Seven Dials.’

As it is possible that some of your readers may not have yet conversed with this surprising matter, I shall, for his and their sakes, endeavour to render it in English.

Thus then it runs:

‘ A Frenchman, a man of learning, is arrived at
 ‘ London from Paris, in order to teach the French
 VOL. XII. O language,

‘ language, Fables, Poetry, Heraldry, *French Philo-*
‘ *sophy*, and the Latin tongue; without exacting any
‘ study from his scholars, *all study being an obstacle to*
‘ *his method*. If there be any constitutions too weak
‘ to bear contradiction, any characters too lively to
‘ be capable of attention, any persons too far advan-
‘ ced in life to apply themselves to study, and who
‘ are willing to learn any of the above sciences, by a
‘ simple method, and one shorter as well as more so-
‘ lid than any which hath been hitherto practised, they
‘ are desired to enquire,’ &c. as above.

I must confess myself so ignorant, that, till I read this wonderful performance, I did not know there was a philosophy which was peculiar to France, and that went under the name of French Philosophy! Perhaps this is what is meant by the French Marqué in St. Evremont, when he says, ‘ *Premierement, j’aime la guerre,*
‘ *après la guerre madame de——, après madame*
‘ *de—— la religion, après la religion la philosophie—*
‘ *Voilà ce que j’aime, Morbleu!*’ ‘ My first passion
‘ is *the war*, my second is *madame de——*, my
‘ third is *religion*, and my fourth passion is *philosophy*.—
‘ Now I have told you what my passions are, d—n
‘ me!’ In which passage it seems pretty plain that *la*
philosophie is no other than what the French likewise
call *la danse*; and then it will be plain that the artist
above mentioned is no other than a dancing-master, to
whose method of teaching I do readily agree, that study
is often a very deplorable obstacle.

But this will by no means solve all the difficulties:
for though dancing will possibly make a man a great
adept in the French philosophy, how he will be able
to dance into any English science, or into the Latin
tongue, is somewhat hard to conceive. Perhaps, by
French philosophy, the author means what is also
called *l’industrie, ou l’art de voler bien les poches*, which
I must beg to be excused from translating into our
coarser language; in barbarous French, it may be
called The art of peka de poka. But if this be his
meaning, I fancy he will be greatly deceived in his
views; since I believe it is impossible to find more able
masters than some of his countrymen have already
shewn

shewn themselves here in that art. Nor do I believe, that study or intense application can be an enemy to this art, since I know several of the English who have plodded on all their lives on this very science, and have at last, by mere dint of study, become very great proficient in it.

To say the truth, I am inclined to think, that by *à la Philosophie Francoise*, is meant no other than *la bonne assurance*; that assurance, which the French alone call good, and which, it is very probable, they alone may call philosophy.

And this I the rather conclude to be the undertaker's meaning, as it is certain, that, to the making any considerable progress in this French philosophy, study is of all things the greatest obstacle. I have indeed observed in a late paper, that no man of learning was ever a proficient in this art. I must further observe, that the disciples which our master seems to have principally chosen, such, I mean, as can bear no contradiction, such as are incapable of any attention, and such aged persons who are willing, all at once, without any labour, to leap, as it were, into science, are all excellently adapted to receive the strongest and most immediate impressions of this philosophy.

Nor can I help observing, which is a further confirmation of my opinion, how nobly our artist hath contrived to convince the world of his fitness for the task he hath undertaken. I defy the ingenuity of man to invent a better method of conveying to the public, in so few lines, an idea of a capacity for any undertaking whatever, than this astonishing Frenchman hath made use of to shew this nation how well qualified he is to teach them the French philosophy, or the good assurance. I will not venture to prophesy what success may attend so new and so extraordinary a proposal. This, however, I cannot avoid remarking, that it seems to indicate what opinion of the understandings of the good people of this island at present prevails among the French philosophers abroad. I am well convinced, it would be extremely difficult to persuade the greatest adept in the good assurance which this kingdom ever produced, to expect any suc-

cess from such a proposal even among the Hottentots, if he could make himself enough understood to publish his scheme among them.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

ANTIGALICUS.

NUMB. 54. SATURDAY, July 11.

—His juvenas orta parentibus
Infectis æquæ sanguine Punico.

*Such were the heroes of that glorious reign
That humbled to the dust the pride of Spain.*

MR CENSOR,

YOU have formerly entertained the public, by representing to them the opinions which posterity will be supposed to conceive of the present age; you will possibly furnish no less amusement to your readers, by casting your eyes backwards into our annals, as the manners of their ancestors will, I apprehend, appear no less strange to the present age, than the history of these our times can be thought hereafter.

After this short introduction, I shall present you with a curious dialogue, which seems to have been written towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I have taken the liberty to modernize the language, without doing the least violence to the sentiments of the original.

A Dialogue between Mr English, Madam English, Miss Biddy English, and Mrs Plumtree, the Mistress of the house.

Mrs Plum. I hope your Ladyship is very well this morning, after the fatigue of your journey.

Mad.

Mad. Eng. Indeed, Mrs Plumtree, I never was more fatigued in my life. Four days together, upon a hard trotting horse, are enough to tire any one; besides, my pillion was horridly uneasy, and I rode behind the footboy, who was hardly able to support my leaning against him; but here's Biddy not in the least the worse for her journey.

Miss Biddy. Upon my word, Mamma, I never was in better spirits in my life. My ride hath given me an appetite; I have ate above half a pound of beef-stakes this morning for breakfast.

Mrs Eng. I could have gone through any thing at your age, my dear, though I was never many miles from home before I was married. The young ladies have more liberty in these days, than they had formerly. Indeed, it was entirely owing to your father's goodness that you came to London now.

Mrs Plum. O Madam, I am sure your Ladyship would not have left Miss in the country. It would have been barbarous not to have let her see the Tower, and the Abbey, and Bedlam, and two or three plays.

Mrs Eng. Fy, Mrs Plumtree! with what are you filling the child's head? one play she is to see, and no more. The terms are all settled. One play, one new gown, and one ruff. But now I mention these things, pray, Mrs Plumtree, what is become of the mantua-maker I employed last parliament, when I was here?

Mrs Plum. Alas, poor woman, she is dead; but I can recommend your Ladyship to another, one of the best in all London: she makes gowns for the Lady Mayorefs herself.

Mrs Eng. I shall be obliged to you, good Mrs Plumtree, to send for her to-day, for I have three visits to make in London, and I shall like to do it in my new clothes.—O, Sir John, are you come at last? Dinner hath stayed for you till, I suppose, it is spoiled. It is almost two o'clock.

Mr Eng. The house is but just up, my dear. We fate very late to-day. I assure you, I was invited very much to dine with one of our knights of the shire at

his lodgings; he had a haunch of venison, a fat goose, and an apple-pye, for dinner,—and all this I left for your company.

Mrs Eng. Well, Sir John, I do not blame you; but parliament hours are very dreadful things.

Mr Eng. We must suffer some inconveniencies for the good of our country, and we are employed upon a scheme now that is of the utmost consequence to the nation. We are going to make such a provision for the poor, that there will never be another beggar in the kingdom †.

Mrs Plum. I am heartily glad of that; and I am sure it is high time, for it was no longer ago than last summer that I saw two poor wretches, in one day, actually begging in the open street.

Mr Eng. Well, dame, and how doth my good friend Master Plumtree hold it? We shall have another game at lantry-loo.

Mrs Plum. Indeed, Sir John, you are too hard for my husband. You won above ten shillings of him last parliament.

Mr Eng. Your family is not hurt by it: for I believe you are as much in my debt on the same account; but I beg you will not encourage this girl to play! for she is too much inclined to idleness.

Miss Biddy. Nay, Mamma, I am sure I never desire to play but in the Christmas holidays.

Mrs Plum. O, Madam, Miss will have something else to think on. Here is a young squire that lodges in our neighbourhood; a fine hardy young spark. There are but few, they tell me, that can either run or wrestle with him, and heir to a noble estate he is.

(*At these words Miss Biddy blushed extremely.*)

Mr Eng. Well, let him look to it. Biddy won't turn her back to him. But, my dear, I have a shew for you. The Queen goes to the parliament-house to-morrow; and there will be all the fine lords and la-

† By this passage, it is supposed this dialogue happened in the forty-third year of Queen Elizabeth, when the famous statute was made for providing for the poor; and which is the corner-stone of all our excellent poor laws.

dies of the court. I have hired a balcony, and my little Biddy shall go too.

Mrs Eng. You see, Biddy, how good your papa is; and now, I hope, you will be satisfied, and not desire to go out any more, except to one play and to church, whilst you stay in London. I am sure he is so liberal, he will be forced to send up for the other twenty pound.

Mr Eng. Never mind that, my dear! your prudence in the country will soon make it up. But now I talk of court ladies, I have a piece of news for you. Indeed, I can hardly believe it myself, and yet I was told it by a very great person.

Mrs Eng. What can it be, my dear, that you introduce with all this preface?

Mrs Plum. I hope there are no more Spanish armadas coming.

Mr Eng. No, no, nothing of that kind.—In short, it is so strange a thing, I scarce know how to mention it.—But can you think it? they say there is a court lady that hath made a cuckold of her husband—A woman of very great quality, I assure you.

Mrs Eng. This is strange news, indeed, and impossible to be true.

Mr Eng. Hardly impossible, my dear; such things have been in nature.—

Mrs Eng. And what is become of the lady, pray?

Mr Eng. Why, she is at court still.

Mrs Eng. Then it is impossible to be true; for if I could believe there was one such woman of quality, I am well convinced there are no other that would own her.

Mr Eng. I only tell you what I hear—But come, dame Plumtree, is not your dinner ready?—Upon my word, I have been half starved. My constituents shall find out some other to serve them in the next parliament. It is a hard duty, Mrs Plumtree, and a very expensive one too. I never come up myself under twenty pound; and if my wife comes with me, the expence is almost double.

Mrs Plum. Well, Sir—but you know all men must serve their country.

Mr Eng.

Mr Eng. Yes, Madam, and if all would, the burthen would be less severe ; but I have discovered a most wicked corruption in the borough I serve for— There are three gentlemen in the neighbourhood, who have as good estates as I have, and yet, because they entertain the Mayor and Aldermen with more strong drink than I do, they have never once attempted to chuse them. The moment there is but a discourse of an election, to toping they go.—So that they are sure of always escaping, and I am likely to serve my country as long as I live.

Mrs Plum. It is very hard, I must confess, squire, but then you will consider you have all the honour.-- However, Sir, dinner is upon the table at present.

Mr Eng. Lead on then, my dame, and I will shew you what a stomach I have got in the service of my country.

NUMB. 55. SATURDAY, July 18.

— — *Juvat integros accedere fontes,
Atque haurire.* — — LUCRETIVS.

— — *It is pleasant to handle
An untouched subject.*

IT hath been observed, that characters of humour do abound more in this our island, than in any other country ; and this hath been commonly supposed to arise from that pure and perfect state of liberty which we enjoy in a degree greatly superior to every foreign nation.

This opinion I know, hath great sanction ; and yet I am inclined to suspect the truth of it, unless we will extend the meaning of the word Liberty farther than I think it hath been yet carried, and will include in it, not only an exemption from all restraint of municipal laws, but likewise from all restraint of those rules of behaviour which are expressed in the general term of good-

good-breeding. Laws which, though not written, are perhaps better understood; and, though established by no coercive power, much better obeyed within the circle where they are received, than any of those laws which are recorded in books, or enforced by public authority.

A perfect freedom from these laws, if I am not greatly mistaken, is absolutely necessary to form the true character of humour; a character which is therefore not to be met with among those people who conduct themselves by the rules of good-breeding.

For, indeed, good-breeding is little more than the art of rooting out all those seeds of humour, which nature had originally implanted in our minds.

To make this evident, it seems necessary only to explain the terms, a matter in which I do not see the great difficulty which hath appeared to other writers. Some of these have spoken of the word humour, as if it contained in it some mystery impossible to be revealed; and no one, as I know of, hath undertaken to shew us expressly what it is, though I scarce doubt but it was amply done by Aristotle in his treatise on comedy, which is unhappily lost.

But what is more surprising, is, that we find it pretty well explained in authors who at the same time tell us, they know not what it is. Mr Congreve, in a letter to Mr Dennis, hath these words: 'We cannot certainly tell what wit is, or what humour is;' and within a few lines afterwards he says, 'There is great difference between a comedy wherein there are many things humourously, as they call it, which is pleasantly, spoken; and one where there are several characters of humour, distinguished by the particular and different humours appropriated to the several persons represented, and which naturally arise from the different constitutions, complexions, and dispositions of men.' And again, 'I take humour to be a singular and unavoidable manner of saying or doing any thing peculiar and natural to one man only; by which his speech and actions are distinguished from those of other men. Our humour hath relation to us, and to what proceeds
from

‘ from us, as the accidents have to a substance ; it is
 ‘ a colour, taste, and smell diffused through all ;
 ‘ though our actions are ever so many, and different
 ‘ in form, they are all splinters of the same wood, and
 ‘ have naturally one complexion,’ &c.

If my reader hath any doubt whether this is a just description of humour, let him compare it with those examples of humorous characters, which the greatest masters have given us, and which have been universally acknowledged as such, and he will be perhaps convinced.

Ben Johnson, after complaining of the abuse of the word, proceeds thus :

‘ Why humour (as ’tis ens) we thus define it,
 ‘ To be a quality of air, or water,
 ‘ And in itself holds these two properties,
 ‘ Moisture and fluxure ; as for demonstration,
 ‘ Pour water on this floor, ’twill wet and run ;
 ‘ Likewise the air forc’d thro’ a horn or trumpet
 ‘ Flows instantly away, and leaves behind
 ‘ A kind of dew ; and hence we do conclude,
 ‘ That whatsoe’er hath fluxure and humidity,
 ‘ As wanting power to contain itself,
 ‘ Is humour. So in every human body,
 ‘ The choler, melancholy, phlegm and blood,
 ‘ By reason that they flow continually
 ‘ In some one part, and are not continent,
 ‘ Receive the name of humours.’ “ Now thus far
 “ It may, by metaphor, apply itself
 “ Unto the general disposition :
 “ As when some one peculiar quality
 “ Doth so possess a man, that it doth draw
 “ All his affects, his spirits, and his powers,
 “ In their conclusions all to run one way,”
 ‘ *This may be truly said to be a humour.*
 ‘ But that a rook, by wearing a py’d feather,
 ‘ The cable hatband, or the three-piled ruff,
 ‘ A yard of shoe-tie, or the Switzer’s knot
 ‘ On his French garters, should affect a humour !
 ‘ O ! it is more than most ridiculous.’

This

This passage is in the first act of *Every Man out of his Humour*, and I question not but to some readers the author will appear to have been out of his wits when he wrote it; but others, I am positive, will discern much excellent ore shining among the rubbish. In truth, his sentiment, when let loose from that stiff boddice in which it is laced, will amount to this, that, as the term Humour contains in it the ideas of moisture and fluxure, it was applied to certain moist and flux habits of the body, and afterwards metaphorically to peculiar qualities of the mind, which, when they are extremely prevalent, do, like the predominant humours of the body, flow all to one part; and as the latter are known to absorb and drain off all the corporeal juices and strength to themselves, so the former are no less certain of engaging the affections, spirits, and powers of the mind, and of enlisting them as it were into their own service, and under their own absolute command.

Here then we have another pretty adequate notion of humour, which is indeed nothing more than a violent bent or disposition of the mind to some particular point. To enumerate indeed these several dispositions would be, as Mr Congreve observes, as endless as to sum up the several opinions of men; nay, as he well says, the *quot homines, tot sententiæ*, may be more properly interpreted of their humours, than their opinions.

Hitherto there is no mention of the ridiculous, the idea of which, though not essential to humour, is always included in our notions of it. The ridiculous is annexed to it these two ways, either by the manner or the degree in which it is exerted.

By either of these the very best and worthiest disposition of the human mind may become ridiculous. Excess, says Horace, even in the pursuit of virtue, will lead a wise and a good man into folly and vice—So will it subject him to ridicule; for into this, says the judicious Abbé Bellegarde, a man may tumble headlong with an excellent understanding, and with the most laudable qualities. Piety, patriotism, loyalty, parental

parental affection, &c. have all afforded characters of humour for the stage.

By the manner of exerting itself likewise a humour becomes ridiculous. By this means chiefly the tragic humour differs from the comic; it is the same ambition which raises our horror in *Macbeth*, and our laughter at the drunken sailors in the *Tempest*; the same avarice which causes the dreadful incidents in the *Fatal Curiosity of Lillo*, and in the *Miser of Moliere*; the same jealousy which forms an *Othello*, or a *Suspicious Husband*. No passion or humour of the mind is absolutely either tragic or comic in itself. Nero had the art of making vanity the object of horror; and Domitian, in one instance, at least, made cruelty ridiculous.

As these tragic modes however never enter into our notion of humour, I will venture to make a small addition to the sentiments of the two great masters I have mentioned, by which I apprehend my description of humour will pretty well coincide with the general opinion. By humour then, I suppose, is generally intended a violent impulse of the mind, determining it to some one peculiar point, by which a man becomes ridiculously distinguished from all other men.

If there be any truth in what I have now said, nothing can more clearly follow than the manifest repugnancy between humour and good-breeding: the latter being the art of conducting yourself by certain common and general rules, by which means, if they were universally observed, the whole world would appear (as all courtiers actually do) to be, in their external behaviour at least, but one and the same person.

I have not room at present, if I were able, to enumerate the rules of good-breeding: I shall only mention one, which is a summary of them all. This is the most golden of all rules, no less than that *of doing to all men as you would they should do unto you*.

In the deviation from this law, as I hope to evince in my next, all that we call humour principally consists. I shall at the same time, I think, be able to shew, that it is to this deviation we owe the general character

character mentioned in the beginning of this paper, as well as to assign the reasons why we of this nation have been capable of attracting to ourselves such merit in preference to others.

NUMB. 56. SATURDAY, July 25.

Hoc fonte derivata. HOR.

These are the sources.

AT the conclusion of my last paper, I asserted that the summary of good-breeding was no other than that comprehensive and exalted rule, which the greatest authority hath told us is the sum total of all religion and all morality.

Here, however, my readers will be pleased to observe that the subject matter of good-breeding being only what is called behaviour, it is this only to which we are to apply it on the present occasion. Perhaps therefore we shall be better understood, if we vary the word, and read it thus: *Behave unto all men, as you would they should behave unto you.*

This will most certainly oblige us to treat all mankind with the utmost civility and respect, there being nothing which we desire more than to be treated so by them. This will most effectually restrain the indulgence of all those violent and inordinate desires, which, as we have endeavoured to shew, are the true seeds of humour in the human mind: the growth of which good-breeding will be sure to obstruct; or will at least so over-top and shadow, that they shall not appear. The ambitious, the covetous, the proud, the vain, the angry, the debauchee, the glutton, are all lost in the character of the well-bred man; or, if nature should now and then venture to peep forth, she withdraws in an instant, and doth not shew enough of herself to become ridiculous.

Now humour arises from the very opposite behaviour, from throwing the reins on the neck of our fa-

yourite passion, and giving it a full scope and indulgence. The ingenious Abbé, whom I quoted in my former paper, paints this admirably in the characters of ill-breeding, which he mentions as the very first scene of the ridiculous. ‘Ill-breeding (*l’Impolitesse*),’ says he, ‘is not a single defect, it is the result of many. It is sometimes a gross ignorance of decorum, or a stupid indolence, which prevent us from giving to others what is due to them. It is a peevish malignity, which inclines us to oppose the inclinations of those with whom we converse. It is the consequence of a foolish vanity, which hath no complaisance for any other person: the effect of a proud and whimsical humour, which soars above all the rules of civility; or, lastly, it is produced by a melancholy turn of mind, which pampers itself (*qui trouve du goût*) with a rude and disobliging behaviour.’

Having thus shewn, I think, very clearly, that good-breeding is, and must be, the very bane of the ridiculous, that is to say, of all humorous characters; it will perhaps be no difficult task to discover why this character hath been in a singular manner attributed to this nation.

For this I shall assign two reasons only; as these seem to me abundantly satisfactory, and edequate to the purpose.

The first is, that method so general in this kingdom of giving no education to the youth of both sexes; I say general only, for it is not without some few exceptions.

Much the greater part of our lads of fashion return from school at fifteen or sixteen, very little wiser, and not at all the better, for having been sent thither. Part of these return to the place from whence they came, their fathers country seats; where racing, cock-fighting, hunting, and other rural sports, with smoaking, drinking, and party, become their pursuit, and form the whole business and amusement of their future lives. The other part escape to town, in the diversions, fashions, follies, and vices of which they are immediately initiated. In this academy some finish their studies, while

while others by their wiser parents are sent abroad, to add the knowledge of the diversions, fashions, follies, and vices of all Europe, to that of those of their own country.

Hence then we are to derive two great general characters of humour, which are the clown and the coxcomb, and both of these will be almost infinitely diversified according to the different passions and natural dispositions of each individual, and according to their different walks in life. Great will be the difference, for instance, whether the country gentleman be a whig or a tory; whether he prefers women, drink, or dogs; so will it be whether the town spark be allotted to serve his country as a politician, a courtier, a soldier, a sailor, or possibly a churchman (for by draughts from this academy, all these offices are supplied); or lastly, whether his ambition shall be contented with no other appellation than merely that of a beau.

Some of our lads, however, are destined to a further progress in learning; these are not only confined longer to the labour of a school, but are sent thence to the university. Here, if they please, they may read on; and if they please, they may (as most of them do) let it alone, and betake themselves, as their fancy leads, to the imitation of their elder brothers either in town or country.

This is a matter which I shall handle very tenderly, as I am clearly of opinion that an university education is much the best we have; for here at least there is some restraint laid on the inclinations of our youth. The sportsman, the gamester, and the sot, cannot give such a loose to their extravagance, as if they were at home and under no manner of government; nor can our spark, who is disposed to the town pleasures, find either gaming-houses or play-houses, nor half the taverns or bawdy-houses which are ready to receive him in Covent-Garden.

So far however, I hope, I may say without offence, that, among all the schools at the universities, there is none where the science of good-breeding is taught; no lectures like the excellent lessons on the ridiculous,

which I have quoted above, and which I do most earnestly recommend to all my young readers. Hence the learned professions produce such excellent characters of humour; and the rudeness of physicians, lawyers, and parsons, however dignified or distinguished, affords such pleasant stories to divert private companies, and sometimes the public.

I come now to the beautiful part of the creation, who, in the sense I here use the word, I am assured can hardly (for the most part) be said to have any education.

As to the counterpart of my country squire, the country gentlewoman, I apprehend, that, except in the article of the dancing-matter, and perhaps in that of being barely able to read and write, there is very little difference between the education of many a squire's daughter, and that of his dairy-maid, who is most likely her principal companion: nay, the little difference which there is, I am afraid, is not in the favour of the former; who, by being constantly flattered with her beauty and her wealth, is made the vainest and most self-conceited thing alive; at the same time that such care is taken to instil into her the principles of bashfulness and timidity, that she becomes ashamed and afraid of she knows not what.

If by any chance this poor creature drops afterwards, as it were, into the world, how absurd must be her behaviour! If a man looks at her, she is confounded; and if he speaks to her, she is frightened out of her wits. She acts, in short, as if she thought the whole sex was engaged in a conspiracy to possess themselves of her person and fortune.

This poor girl, it is true, however she may appear to her own sex, especially if she is handsome, is rather an object of compassion than of just ridicule; but what shall we say when time or marriage have carried off all her bashfulness and fear, and when ignorance, awkwardness, and rusticity, are embellished with the same degree, though perhaps not the same kind, of affectation, which are to be found in a court? Here sure is a plentiful source of all that various hu-
mours

mour which we find in the character of a country gentlewoman.

All this, I apprehend, will be readily allowed; but to deny good-breeding to the town lady, may be the more dangerous attempt. Here, besides the professors of reading, writing, and dancing, the French and Italian masters, the music-master, and of modern times, the whitt-master, all concur in forming this character. The manners-masters alone, I am afraid, is omitted. And what is the consequence? not only bashfulness and fear are entirely subdued, but modesty and discretion are taken off at the same time. So far from running away from, she runs after, the men; and instead of blushing when a modest man looks at her, or speaks to her, she can bear, without any such emotion, to stare an impudent fellow in the face, and sometimes to utter what, if he be not very impudent indeed, may put him to the blush.—Hence all those agreeable ingredients which form the humour of a rampant woman of—the town.

I cannot quit this part of my subject, in which I have been obliged to deal a little more freely than I am inclined with the loveliest part of the creation, without preserving my own character of good-breeding, by saying, that this last excess, is by much the most rare; and that every individual among my female readers either is already, or may be when she pleases, an example of a contrary behaviour.

The second general reason why humour so much abounds in this nation, seems to me to arise from the great number of people, who are daily raised by trade to the rank of gentry, without having had any education at all; or, to use no improper phrase, without having served an apprenticeship to this calling. But I have dwelt so long on the other branch, that I have no room at present to animadvert on this; nor is it indeed necessary I should, since most readers, with the hints I have already given them, will easily suggest to themselves a great number of humorous characters, with which the public have been furnished this way. I shall conclude by wishing, that this excellent source of humour may still continue to flow among us; since,

though it may make us a little laughed at, it will be sure to make us the envy of all the nations of Europe.

NUMB. 59. SATURDAY, August 15.

— *Ilachrymabiles*

Urgentur, ignotique longa

Noctē, carent quia vate sacro.

HOR.

*Without a tear they fall, without a name,
Unless some sacred bard records their fame.*

THERE is a certain affection of the mind, for which, though it be common enough in the people of this country, we have not, I think, any adequate term in our language. The Greeks, though they likewise want a name for the abstract, called a man so affected *ΤΙΠΕΡΦΡΟΝ*, a word which I shall not attempt to translate otherwise than by a paraphrase; I understand by it a man so intoxicated with his own great qualities, that he despises and overlooks all other men. In this sense, the participle passive of the verb *ὑπερφρονέω* is used in Thucydides, *ὑπὸ τῶν εὐτραγόνων ὑπερφρονέμενος*. The sentiment is in the mouth of Alcibiades, and it is a very fine one. ‘As no man,’ says he, ‘will even speak to us when we are unfortunate, so must they bear in their turn to be despised by us when we are intoxicated with our successes.’

This disdainful temper, notwithstanding its haughty aspect, proceeds, if I am not much mistaken, from no higher principle than rank timidity. We endeavour to elevate ourselves, and to depress others, lest they should be brought into some competition with ourselves. We are not sufficiently assured of our own footing in the ascent to greatness, and are afraid of suffering any to come too near us, lest they should pull us down, and advance into our place.

Of this pitiful temper of mind, there are no persons so susceptible as the brethren of the quill. Not only

only such authors as have been a little singular in their opinions concerning their own merit, and in whom it seems more excusable to bear a jealous eye towards others; but even those who have far outstripped their fellow-couriers in the race of glory, stretch their scornful eyes behind them, to express their disdain of the poor wretches who are limping and crawling on at however great a distance.

Many are the methods by which this passion is exerted. I shall mention only one, as it is much the most common, and perhaps the most invidious. This is a contemptuous silence; a treatment not much unlike to that with which the Buccaneers formerly used to treat their conquered enemies, when they sunk, or as they phrased it, hid them in the sea.

How many names of great writers may we suppose to have been sunk by this base disposition! Homer, as I remember, hath not perpetuated the memory of a single writer, unless that of Thersites, who was, I make no doubt, from the character given of him in the Iliad, an author of no small estimation. And yet there were probably as many of the function in those days, as there are in this; nay, Homer himself, in his Odyssey, mentions the great honours which poets then received in the courts of all princes, whence we may very reasonably conclude that they swarmed in those courts, and yet the names of three only of his contemporaries have triumphed over the injuries of time, and the malice of their brethren, so as to reach our age.

The learned Vossius, who seems to have employed no little pains in the matter, hath not been able to preserve to us many more than two hundred down to the death of Cleopatra: and yet we are assured, that the famous Alexandrian library contained no less than six hundred thousand volumes, of which, as the humour of those ages ran, we may conceive a sixth part at least to have consisted of poetry.

Among the Latins how many great names may we suppose to have been hid by the affected taciturnity of Virgil, who appears to have mentioned only those writers of quality to whom he made his court! Of his friend

friend Horace, he had not the gratitude to take any notice; much less to repay those praises which this latter poet had so liberally bestowed on him.

Horace again, though so full of compliments to Virgil, of poor Ovid is altogether as cruelly and invidiously silent.

Ovid, who was, I am confident, one of the best-natured of human kind, was of all men most profuse in the praises of his contemporaries; and yet even he hath been guilty of sinking. Numberless were the poets in his time, whose names are no where to be found in his works; nay, he hath played the buccaneer with two, one of whom is celebrated by Horace, and both of them by Virgil. The learned reader well knows I mean the illustrious names of Bavius and Mævius; whose merits were so prevalent with Virgil, that though they were both his bitter revilers, he could not refrain from transcribing them to posterity. I wish he had dealt as generously by all his censurers, and I make no doubt but we should have been furnished with some hundreds of names, *que nunc premit nox*.

Among our own writers, too many have been guilty of this vice. Had Dryden communicated all those who drew their pens against him, he would have preserved as many names from oblivion as a land-tax act; but he was, I am afraid, so intoxicated with his own merit, that he overlooked and despised all the great satyrists who constantly abused, I had almost said libelled, his works, unless they were some other way eminent besides by their writings, such as Shadwell, who was poet laureat, and Buckingham, who was a duke.

Of all the chief favourites and prime ministers of the muses, the late ingenious Mr Pope was most free from this scornful silence. He employed a whole work for the purpose of recording such writers as no one without his pains, except he had lived at the same time and in the same street, would ever have heard of.

He may indeed be said to have raked many out of the kennels to immortality, which, though in somewhat a stinking condition, is, to an ambitious mind, preferable

preferable to utter obscurity and oblivion; many, I presume, having, with the wretch who burnt the Temple of Ephesus, such a love for fame, that they are willing to creep even into her common shore.

In humble imitation of this great man, in the only instance in which I am capable of imitating him, I intend shortly to attempt a work of the same kind, in prose I mean, and to endeavour to do justice to a great number of my contemporaries, whose names, for far the greater part, are much less known than they deserve to be. And that I may be the better enabled to execute this generous purpose, I have employed several proper persons to find out these authors. To this end, I have ordered my bookseller to send me in the names of all those apprentices and journeymen of booksellers and printers, who at present entertain and instruct the town with their productions. I have besides a very able and industrious person who hath promised me a complete list of all the hands now confined in the several Bridewells in and about this city, which carry on the trade of writing, in any of the branches of religion, morality, and government; in all which every day produces us some curious essay, treatise, remarks, &c. from those quarters.

I shall conclude this paper with some very fine lines from the third book of the Dunciad, which gave indeed the first hint to my charitable design: for what a melancholy consideration is it, that all these armies there spoken of, should perish in the jaws of utter darkness, and that the names of such worthies should be as short lived as their works! The verses are part of the speech of Settle to his son Cibber:

- And see, my son! the hour is on its way,
- That lifts our goddess to imperial sway;
- This fav'rite isle long sever'd from her reign,
- Dove-like she gathers to her wings again.
- Now look thro' fate! behold the scene she draws!
- What aids, what armies to assert her cause!
- See all her progeny, illustrious fight!
- Behold, and count them as they rise to light.

As

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‘ As Berecynthia, while her offspring vye
 ‘ In homage to the mother of the sky,
 ‘ Surveys around her, in the blest’d abode,
 ‘ An hundred sons, and ev’ry son a God :
 ‘ Not with less glory mighty Dulness crown’d,
 ‘ Shall take thro’ Grub-street her triumphant round ;
 ‘ And her Parnassus glancing o’er at once,
 ‘ Behold an hundred sons, and each a dunce.’

NUMB. 60. SATURDAY, August 22.

‘Τὴν σεαυτοῦ μὴ ᾠδῶνς ἐκείμηναι’

Be not the trumpeter of your own praise.

A FRENCH author, a great favourite of mine, and whom I have often quoted in my lucubrations, observes, ‘ That it is very common for men to talk of themselves, of their children, and their family, and always in the terms of commendation. But,’ says he, ‘ if those who accustomed themselves to such narratives, could conceive how troublesome and tiresome they are to the rest of the world, they would possibly learn to contain themselves a little better, and to shew more complaisance to the patience of their hearers. It is moreover matter of great astonishment to me, that men who are perpetually praising themselves, scarce ever mention the name of another person but in order to abuse it. Perhaps they intend to avail themselves of the contrast, and to recommend their own conduct to general approbation, by the censure of their neighbours.’

The motive to the former of these vices is clearly vanity ; which, as the ingenious Dr Young says,

‘ Makes dear self on well bred tongues prevail,
 ‘ And I the little hero of each tale.’

The motive to the latter is malice ; and, to say a plain truth, I firmly believe there is no bosom where
 vanity

vanity is to be found in any great degree, which is not at the same time pretty considerably tainted with malice. Praise is a mistress, in the pursuit of which every vain man must have many rivals; and what temper of mind men preserve to a rival, need not to be here repeated.

To both these impulses of mind, there is no man, I am afraid, so liable as the writer. Fame is sometimes his only pursuit; but this is always blended with his other views, even in the most mercenary, and for this simple reason, that it leads directly to pudding. He must at least respect fame, as the Cit in the play doth his reputation, because the loss of it may tend to the loss of money. But in fact, his views are commonly more noble; vanity, not avarice, is the passion he would feed; and there is scarce an inhabitant of Parnassus even among the poor of that parish, who will not be more pleased with one who commends his works, than with one who gives him a dinner; which being the case, it follows of course that they must be all rivals for the aforesaid mistress, and may consequently be all suspected of bearing malice to each other.

Again, there is no writer who can so easily indulge both these inclinations, as the writer of Miscellaneous Essays. It required the genius of Cicero or Bolingbroke, to introduce their own praises into every political oration or pamphlet; or the wit of Lucian, or South, to drag the philosophers and dissenters into almost every subject. But such essayist having a full liberty to write not only what, but on what he pleases, may fill up every page with his own commendations, and with the abuse of all other writers.

When I meditate on these matters, I can scarce refrain from taking some praise to myself; I am even vain enough to think the public have some little obligation to me, for that silence which I have hitherto so inviolably maintained with regard to my own perfections; and perhaps the more candid among my readers would allow some applause to this forbearance, if they knew what a sacrifice I make of my own inclinations, by thus consulting their ease and pleasure;
for

for surely nothing can equal the satisfaction which a man feels in writing encomiums on himself, unless it be the disgust which every other person is as sure to conceive at reading them.

In this mood of thinking likewise, I am apt to challenge to myself some degree of merit towards my contemporary writers, especially those who write in my own way. As these gentlemen are, I doubt not, well assured of that immoderate envy which I must bear to their great genius and learning, they will certainly acknowledge that to confine all this to myself, to smother these scorching flames within my own breast, without suffering even a spark to escape, seems a little to deserve their commendation.

But to deal ingenuously on this occasion, I must acknowledge there are some prudential as well as generous motives to this silence. Two considerations may perhaps be suspected of having some little weight, in dissuading a man, even for his own sake, from exhibiting his own praise; First, that he will be sure of being very little read; and, in the next place, of being much less believed. The fear of this latter fate may likewise have some share in prevailing on a man to stifle his envy, notwithstanding all the pleasure which is to be found in giving it vent. However sweet it was to those great men, whose names are recorded in the preface to the *Dunciad*, and in the *Dunciad* itself, to abuse the characters of Pope and Swift, and to assert, as they did, that the one wanted humour, and the other was no poet; I much doubt whether they would not have bought their pleasure too dear, at the price of public scorn, even though the former had treated them with the same silent contempt with which they were treated by the latter. For this reason, I shall carefully avoid any satire against the Popes and Swifts of the present age. Though envy of these great men should boil in my own bosom, I will never suffer it to boil over so as to run abroad into the public.

To suppress two such powerful passions as vanity and envy, is by no means an easy task. It requires indeed little less resolution than what animated the

Spartan youth, who concealed a fox under his garment, and rather than he would produce him openly, suffered the vermin to gnaw his very bowels. To say truth, I am afraid I should not have been able to persevere so long, had I not contrived a certain cunning method of discharging myself in private; and which, as it is a most curious secret, I shall now communicate for the use of others, who, if they pursue the same method, will, I doubt not, meet with the same success.

I will give it by way of receipt; and can truly say, it hath every quality with which remedies are usually recommended; being extremely cheap, easy, safe, and practicable.

A Receipt to prevent the ill effects of a raging vanity in an Author.

‘ When the fit is at the highest, take of pen, ink, and paper, q. s. make a panegyric on yourself; stuff it well with all the cardinal virtues; season to your taste with wit, humour, and learning. You may likewise add, as you see occasion, birth, politeness, and such like.

‘ In the choice of your ingredients, be sure to have a particular regard to your sore part. If your ears be sore with any fresh pulling, or your br—ch with any fresh kicking, infuse a double portion of courage. If you have lately betrayed your ignorance so grossly as to make Ovid guilty of two false quantities in one line, dash plentifully with learning.

‘ If you are publickly known to be an infamous liar, season very high with honour; if you are notoriously sprung from the *dunghill*, take of ancestors from the English history at the least half a dozen.
Et sic de cæteris.

‘ When you have writ your panegyric, you may read it as often as you please; but take care that nobody hears you, and then be sure to—burn your panegyric.

‘ This last operation, I own, will cause some pain: but when it is considered, that, if you do not burn it
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‘ yourself, other people will; nay, perhaps, will treat
‘ it yet worse, and bring it to a much more disho-
‘ nourable and stinking end, a wise man will soon
‘ force himself to the resolution of putting his pane-
‘ gyric beyond the reach of malice.

‘ As to the cure of envy, I need not give the re-
‘ ceipt for it at length. It is sufficient to direct the
‘ choice of the very contrary ingredients; that is to
‘ say, instead of all the good, make use of all the bad
‘ qualities both of the head and heart.

‘ And here likewise you are to examine your own
‘ fore part; if any man hath ridiculed you with wit
‘ and humour, take of blockhead, dunce, and fool,
‘ of each three penfulls. If another hath kicked and
‘ cuffed you lustily, be sure to becoward him well;
‘ and if the assault was in public, before the eyes of
‘ many gentlemen, the word coward can never be too
‘ often repeated.

‘ But with regard to this last, great caution must
‘ be had; first, that the person so to be becowarded
‘ be first under a prosecution at law for the assault,
‘ and secondly, that he be then out of the kingdom.
‘ These precautions are however useless, if you ap-
‘ ply your satire, as you are above advised to apply
‘ your panegyric, I mean to the flames; otherwise
‘ they will be abundantly necessary, to prevent your
‘ ears from being pulled, till they resemble those of
‘ the ass lately exposed at the Bedford Coffeehouse.’

I shall conclude this paper with two quotations;
the first is from the mouth of Socrates. ‘ Never speak
‘ of yourself: for he who commends himself is vain;
‘ and he who abuses himself is absurd.’ The other is
from the witty Dr South. ‘ He advises an abusive
‘ writer to be, of all others, most circumspect as to
‘ his own actions, seeing he is so sure of meeting with
‘ no quarter.’ A man must, indeed, be most furi-
ously mad, who sets up for a satirist, when it is scarce
possible for him to discharge a single vice at any
other, that will not recoil on himself. In a word,
with my friend Horace, *melius non tangere clamo*. A
hint, which those of my contemporary writers, who
under-

understand Latin, will, for the future, I hope, observe.

NUMB. 61. SATURDAY, August 29.

Τὴν ἐλάττω μὴ ἀποσκυθάλισις·

CLEOBUL.

Do not despise your inferiors.

THERE is not in human nature a more odious disposition, than a proneness to contempt. Nor is there any which more certainly denotes a bad mind : for in a good and a benign temper, there can be no room for this sensation. That which constitutes an object of contempt to the malevolent, becomes the object of other passions to a worthy and good-natured man : for in such a person, wickedness and vice must raise hatred and abhorrence, and weakness and folly will be sure to excite compassion ; so that he will find no object of his contempt, in all the actions of men.

And however detestable this quality, which is a mixture of pride and ill nature, may appear when considered in the serious school of Heraclitus, it will present no less absurd and ridiculous an idea to the laughing sect of Democritus, especially as we may observe, that the meanest and basest of all human beings are generally the most forward to despise others. So that the most contemptible are generally the most contemptuous.

I have often wished that some of these curious persons who have employed their time in enquiring into the nature and actions of several insects, such as bees and ants, had taken some pains to examine whether they are not apt to express any contemptuous behaviour one towards another ; the plain symptoms of which might possibly be discovered by the help of microscopes. It is scarce conceivable that the queen Bee, amongst the hundred gallants which she keeps for her own recreation, should not have some especial favourites ; and it is full as likely, that these favourites

will so carry themselves towards their brethren, as to display sufficient marks of their contempt to the eye of an accurate discoverer in the manners of the reptile world. For my own part, I have remarked many instances of contempt amongst animals, which I have farther observed to encrease in proportion to the decrease of such species, in the rank and order of the animal creation. Mr Ellis informs me that he never could discover any the least indication of contempt in the lions under his care; the horse, I am sorry to say it, gives us some, the ass many more, the turkey-cock more still, and the toad is supposed to burst itself frequently with the violence of this passion. To pursue it gradually downwards would be too tedious. It may be reasonably supposed to arrive at a prodigious height before it descends to the louse. With what a degree of contempt may we conceive that a substantial free-holder of this kind, who is well established in the head of a beggar wench, considers a poor vagabond louse, who hath strayed into the head of a woman of quality, where it is in hourly danger of being arrested by the merciless hands of her woman!

This may perhaps seem to some a very ridiculous image; and as ridiculous, as I apprehend, to a being of a superior order will appear a contemptuous man; one puffed up with some trifling, perhaps fancied superiority, and looking round him with disdain on those who are perhaps so nearly his equals, that, to such a being as I have just mentioned, the difference may be as inconsiderable and imperceptible between the despiser and the despised, as the difference between two of the meanest insects may seem to us.

And as a very good mind, as I have before observed, will give no entertainment to any such affection; so neither will a sensible mind, I am persuaded, find much opportunity to exert it. If men would make but a moderate use of that self-examination, which philosophers and divines have recommended to them, it would tend greatly to the cure of this disposition. Their contempt would then perhaps, as their charity is said to do, begin at home. To say truth, a man
hath

hath this better chance of despising himself, than he hath of despising others, as he is likely to know himself best.

But I am sliding into a more serious vein than I intended. In the residue of this paper, therefore, I will confine myself to one particular consideration only; one which will give as ridiculous an idea of contempt, and afford as strong dissuatives against it, as any other which at present suggests itself.

The consideration I mean is, that contempt is, generally at least, mutual, and that there is scarce any one man who despises another without being at the same time despised by him, of which I shall endeavour to produce some few instances.

As the Right Honourable the Lord Squanderfield, at the head of a vast retinue, passes by Mr Moses Buckram, citizen and tailor, in his chaise and one; 'See there!' says my Lord, with an air of the highest contempt, 'that rascal Buckram, with his fat wife, I suppose he is going to his country-house; for such fellows must have their country-house, as well as their vehicle. These are the rascals that complain of want of trade.' Buckram, on the other side, is no sooner recovered from the fear of being run over before he could get out of the way, than turning to his wife, he cries, 'Very fine, faith! an honest citizen is to be run over by such fellows as these, who drive about their coaches and six with other people's money. See, my dear, what an equipage he hath, and yet he cannot find money to pay an honest tradesman. He is above fifteen hundred pounds deep in my books; how I despise such lords!'

Lady Fanny Rantun, from the side-box, casting her eyes on an honest pawnbroker's wife below her, bids Lady Betty her companion take notice of that creature in the pit; 'Did you ever see, Lady Betty,' says she, 'such a strange wretch? how the awkward monster is dressed!' The good woman at the same time surveying Lady Fanny, and offended, perhaps, at a scornful smile, which she sees in her countenance,—whispers her friend,—'Observe Lady Fanny Rantun. As great airs as that fine lady gives herself, my hus-

‘ band hath all her jewels under lock and key. What
 ‘ a contemptible thing is poor quality !’

Is there on earth a greater object of contempt than a poor scholar to a splendid beau ; unless perhaps the splendid beau to the poor scholar ! the philosopher and the world, the man of business and the man of pleasure, the beauty and the wit, the hypocrite and the profligate, the covetous and squanderer, are all alike instances of this reciprocal contempt.

Take the same observations into the lowest life, and we shall find the same proneness to despise each other. The common soldier, who hires himself out to be shot at for five pence a day ; who is the only slave in a free country, and is liable to be sent to any part of the world without his consent, and whilst at home subject to the severest punishments, for offences which are not to be found in our law books ; yet this noble personage looks with a contemptuous air on all his brethren of that order in the commonwealth, whether of mechanics or husbandmen, from whence he was himself taken. On the other hand, however adorned with his brickdust-coloured cloth, and bedaubed with worsted lace of a penny a yard, the very gentleman soldier is as much despised in his turn, by the whistling carter, who comforts himself, that he is a free Englishman, and will live with no master any longer than he likes him ; nay, and though he never was worth twenty shillings in his life, is ready to answer a Captain, if he offends him,—‘ D—n you, Sir, who
 ‘ are you ? is it not We that pays you ?’

This contemptuous disposition is in reality the sure attendant on a mean and bad mind in every station ; on the contrary, a great and good man will be free from it, whether he be placed at the top or bottom of life. I was therefore not a little pleased with a rebuke given by a blackshoe boy, to another, who had expressed his contempt of one of the modern town-smarts. ‘ Why should you despise him, Jack !’ said the honest lad. ‘ We are all what the Lord pleased
 ‘ to make us.’

I will

I will conclude this paper with a story which a gentleman of honour averred to me to be truth. His coach being stopt in Piccadilly by two or three carts, which, according to custom, were placed directly across the way; he observed a very dirty fellow, who appeared to belong to a mud cart, give another fellow several lashes with his whip, and at the same time heard him repeat more than once—‘D—n you, I will teach you manners to your betters.’ My friend could not easily from these words divine what might possibly be the station of the unhappy sufferer, till at length, to the great satisfaction of his curiosity, he discovered that he was the driver of a dust-cart drawn by asses.

A CHARGE

A
C H A R G E
DELIVERED TO THE
G R A N D J U R Y,
AT THE
SESSIONS of the P E A C E

HELD FOR THE
City and Liberty of Westminster, &c.

On THURSDAY the 29th of June, 1749.

A

C H A R G E

DELIVERED TO THE

GRAND JURY, &c.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

THERE is no part in all the excellent frame of our constitution, which an Englishman can, I think, contemplate with such delight and admiration; nothing, which must fill him with such gratitude to our earliest ancestors, as that branch of British liberty, from which, gentlemen, you derive your authority of assembling here on this day.

The institution of Juries, gentlemen, is a privilege which distinguishes the liberty of Englishmen from those of all other nations: for as we find no traces of this in the antiquities of the Jews, or Greeks, or Romans; so it is an advantage, which is at present solely confined to this country; not so much, I apprehend, from the reasons assigned by Fortescue, in his book *de Laudibus*, cap. 29. namely, ‘because there are more husbandmen, and fewer freeholders, in other countries;’ as because other countries have less of freedom than this; and being for the most part subjected to the absolute will of their governors, hold their lives, liberties, and properties, at the discretion of those governors, and not under the protection of certain laws. In such countries, it would be absurd
to

to look for any share of power in the hands of the people.

And if juries in general be so very signal a blessing to this nation, as Fortescue, in the book I have just cited, thinks it: 'A method,' says he, 'much more available and effectual for the trial of truth, than is the form of any other laws of the world, as it is farther from the danger of corruption and subornation;' what, gentlemen, shall we say of the institution of grand juries, by which an Englishman, so far from being convicted, cannot be even tried, not even put on his trial in any capital case, at the suit of the crown, unless, perhaps, in one or two very special instances, till twelve men at the least have said on their oaths, that there is a probable cause for his accusation! Surely we may in a kind of rapture cry out with Fortescue, speaking of the second jury, 'Who then can unjustly die in England for any criminal offence, seeing he may have so many helps for the favour of his life, and that none may condemn him, but his neighbours, good and lawful men, against whom he hath no manner of exception?'

To trace the original of this great and singular privilege, or to say when and how it began, is not an easy task; so obscure indeed are the footsteps of it through the first ages of our history, that my Lord Hale, and even my Lord Coke, seem to have declined it. Nay, this latter, in his account of his second or petty jury, is very succinct; and contents himself with saying, *Co. Lit.* 155. *b.* that it is very ancient and before the conquest.

Spelman, in his life of Alfred, lib. ii. p. 71. will have that prince to have been the first founder of juries; but in truth they are much older, and very probably had some existence even among the Britons. The Normans likewise had anciently the benefit of juries, as appears in the *Customier de Normandie*; and something like grand juries too we find in that book, under the title *Suit de Murdyr*.

Bracton, who wrote in the reign of Henry the third, in his book *de corona*, cap. 1. gives a plain account

count of this matter: and by him it appears, that the grand juries before the justices in Eyre differed very little at that time from what they now are, before justices assigned to keep the peace, oyer and terminer, and goal-delivery, unless in the manner of chusing them, and unless in one other respect; there being then a grand jury sworn for every hundred; whereas at present one serves for the whole county, liberty, &c.

But before this time, our ancestors were sensible of the great importance of this privilege, and extremely jealous of it, as appears by the twenty-ninth chapter of the great charter, granted by King John, and confirmed by Henry the third. For thus my Lord Coke, 2 *Instit.* 46. expounds that chapter. *Nullus liber homo capiatur*, &c. 'No man shall be taken, that is,' says he, 'restrained of liberty, by petition or suggestion to the king and his council; unless it be by indictment or presentment of good and lawful men, where such deeds be done.'

And so just a value have our ancestors always set on this great branch of our liberties, and so jealous have they been of any attempt to diminish it, that when a commission to punish rioters in a summary way was awarded in the second year of Richard the second, 'It was,' says Mr Lambard in his *Eirenarcha*, fol. 305. 'even in the self-same year of the same king, resumed as a thing over hard (says that writer) to be borne, that a freeman should be imprisoned without an indictment, or other trial, by his peers, as Magna Charta speaketh; until that the experience of greater evils had prepared and made the stomach of the commonwealth able and fit to digest it.'

And a hard morsel surely it must have been, when the commonwealth could not digest it in that turbulent reign, which, of all others in our history, seems to have afforded the most proper ingredients to make it palatable; in a reign moreover when the commonwealth seemed to have been capable of swallowing and digesting almost any thing; when judges were so prostitute as to acknowledge the king to be above the law; and when a parliament, which even Richard censures,

and for which Mr Rapin, with a juster indignation, tells us he knows no name odious enough, made no scruple to sacrifice to the passions of the king, and his ministers, the lives of the most distinguished lords of the kingdom, as well as the liberties and privileges of the people. Even in that reign, gentlemen, our ancestors could not, as Mr Lambard remarks, be brought by any necessity of the times, to give up, in any single instance, this their invaluable privilege.

Another considerable attempt to deprive the subject of the benefit of grand juries was made in the eleventh year of Henry the seventh. The pretence of this act of parliament, was the wilful concealments of grand-jurors, in their inquests; and by it 'power was given to the justices of assize in their sessions, and to the justices of peace in every county, upon information, for the king, to hear and determine all offences and contempts (saving treason, murder, or felony) by any person against the effect of any statute.'

My Lord Coke, in his 4th institute, fol. 40. sets forth this act at large, not as a law which in his time had any force, but *in terrorem*; and, as he himself says, that the like should never be attempted in any future parliament.

'This act,' says Lord Coke, 'had a fair flattering preamble; but, in the execution, tended diametrically contrary; viz. to the high displeasure of Almighty God; and to the great let, nay, the utter subversion of the common law; namely, by depriving the subject of that great privilege of being indicted and tried by a jury of their countrymen.'

By pretext of this law, says the great writer I have just cited, Empson and Dudley did commit upon the subject insufferable pressures and oppressions. And we read in history, that, soon after the act took place, Sir William Capel, Alderman of London, who was made the first object of its tyranny, was fined two thousand seven hundred pounds; sixteen hundred of which he actually paid to the king, by way of composition. A vast sum in those days, to be imposed for a crime so minute, that scarce any notice is taken of it in history.

Our

Our ancestors, however, bore not long this invasion on their liberties; for in the very first year of King Henry VIII. this flagitious act was repealed, and the advisers of all the extortions committed by it were deservedly sacrificed to the public resentment.

Gentlemen, I shall mention but two more attacks on this most valuable of all our liberties; the first of which was indeed the greatest of all, I mean that cursed court of Star-chamber, which was erected under the same king.

I shall not before you, gentlemen, enter into a contest with my Lord Coke, whether this court had a much older existence, or whether it first begun under the statute of 3d Henry VII. For my part, I clearly think the latter:

I. Because the statute which erects it mentions no such court as then existing, and most manifestly speaks the language of creation, not of confirmation.

II. Because it was expressly so understood by the judges, within five years after the statute was made, as appears by the year-book of 8th Henry VII. *Pasch. fol. 13. Plac. 7.*

Lastly, Because all our historians and law-writers before that time are silent concerning any such court; for as to the records and acts of parliament cited by my Lord Coke, they are most evidently to be applied only to the king and council, to whom, in old time, complaints were, in very extraordinary cases, preferred.

This old court, my Lord Coke himself confesses, sat very rarely; so rarely indeed, that there are no traces left of its proceedings, at least of any such as were afterwards had under the authority of the statute. Had this court had an original existence in the constitution, I do not see why the great lawyer is so severe against the before-mentioned act of the 11th of Henry VII. or how he can, with any propriety, call the liberty of being accused and tried only by juries, the birth-right of an English subject.

The other instance was that of the High-commission court, instituted by parliament in the first year of Queen Elizabeth.

This act likewise pretends to refer to an authority in being. The title of it is, An Act restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction, &c. By which, saith Lord Coke, 4th Inst. 325. the nature of the act doth appear, viz. that it is an act of restitution.

And hence the court of Common Pleas, in the reign of James I. well argued, that the act being meant to restore to the crown the ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the commissioners could derive no other power from it than before belonged to that ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

But however necessary, as my Lord Coke says, 4th Inst. 326. this act might have been at its first creation, or however the intention of the legislature might have been to restrain it, either as to time or persons, certain it is, that the commissioners extended its jurisdiction in many cases, to the great grievance of the subject, and to the depriving them of that privilege which I have just mentioned to be the birth-right of an Englishman.

The uses made of these courts, and particularly under that unhappy prince, Charles I. need not be mentioned. They are but too well known. Let it suffice, that the spirit of our ancestors at last prevailed over these invasions of their liberties, and these courts were for ever abolished.

And, gentlemen, if we have just reason to admire the great bravery and readiness of those our ancestors, in defeating all the attempts of tyranny against this excellent branch of our constitution, we shall have no less reason, I apprehend, to extol that great wisdom, which they have from time to time demonstrated, in well ordering and regulating their juries, so as to preserve them as clear as possible from all danger of corruption. In this light, gentlemen, we ought to consider the several laws by which the morals, the character, the substance, and good demeanor of jurors are regulated. These jurors, gentlemen, must be good and lawful men, of reputation and substance in their county, chosen at the nomination of neither party, absolutely disinterested and indifferent in the cause which they are to try. Upon the whole, the
excellence

excellence of our constitution, and the great wisdom of our laws, which Fortescue, my Lord Coke, and many other great writers, have so highly extolled, is in no one instance so truly admirable as in this institution of our juries.

I hope, gentlemen, I shall not be thought impertinent, in having taken up so much of your time to shew you the great dignity and importance of that office which you are now assembled here to execute; the duties of which it is incumbent on me concisely to open to you; and this I shall endeavour in the best manner I am able.

The duty, gentlemen, of a grand juror, is to enquire of all crimes and misdemeanors whatsoever, which have been committed in the county or liberty for which he serves as a grand juror, and which are anywise cognizable by the court in which he is sworn to enquire.

And this enquiry is in a two-fold manner, by way of indictment, and by way of presentment.

Which two words, Mr Lambard, fol. 461. thus explains:

‘ A presentment,’ says he, ‘ I take to be a meer determination of the jurors themselves; and an indictment is the verdict of the jurors, grounded upon the accusation of a third person; so that a presentment is but a declaration of the jurors, without any bill offered before; and an indictment is their finding of a bill of accusation to be true.’

The usual method of charge hath been to run over the several articles, or heads of crimes, which might possibly become subject to the enquiry of the grand jury.

This, we find in Bracton, who writ so long ago as the reign of Henry III. was the practice of the justices in Eyre. l. iii. c. i. And my Lord Coke says, 4 Inst. 183. that the charge to be given at the sessions of the peace consisteth of two parts; laws ecclesiastical for the peace of the church, and laws civil and temporal for the peace of the land. And Mr Lambard, in his Eirenarcha, gives the whole form of the charge.

at length, in which he recapitulates every article which was at that time enquirable in the sessions.

But, gentlemen, I think I may be excused at present from taking up so much of your time; for though we are assembled to exercise the jurisdiction of a very antient and honourable liberty, yet, as there is another sessions of justices within that county of which this liberty is a part, before whom indictments for all crimes of the deeper dye are usually preferred, it seems rather to favour of ostentation than utility, to run over those articles which in great probability will not come before you.

And indeed a perfect knowledge of the law in these matters is not necessary to a grand juror; for in all cases of indictments, whether for a greater or lesser, a public or private crime, the business of a grand jury is only to attend to the evidence for the king; and if on that evidence there shall appear a probable cause for the accusation, they are to find the bill true, without listning to any circumstances of defence, or to any matter of law.

And therefore my Lord Hale, vol. II. fol. 158. puts this case: ‘ If A. be killed by B. so that the person
‘ of the slayer and slain be certain, and a bill of murder be presented to the grand jury, regularly they
‘ ought to find the bill for murder, and not for manslaughter, or *se defendendo*; because otherwise offence
‘ may be smothered without due trial; and when the
‘ party comes on his trial, the whole fact will be examined before the court and the petty jury; for if
‘ a man kills B. in his own defence, or *per infortunium*, or possibly in executing the process of law
‘ upon an assault made upon him, or in his own defence on the highway, or in defence of his house
‘ against those that come to rob him (in which three
‘ last cases it is neither felony nor forfeiture, but, upon not guilty pleaded, he ought to be acquitted) yet
‘ if the grand inquest find an *ignoramus* upon the bill,
‘ or find the special matter, whereby the prisoner is
‘ dismissed and discharged, he may nevertheless be indicted for murder seven years after; whereas, if
‘ upon a proper finding he had been acquitted, he
‘ could

‘ could never afterwards be again arraigned without
‘ having the plea of *autrefois acquit*.’

This doctrine of the learned chief justice you will apply to whatever case may come before you : for wherever you shall find probable cause, upon the oaths of the king’s witnesses, you will not discharge your office without finding the bill to be true, shewing no regard to the nature of the crime, or the degree of the guilt ; which are matters proper for the cognizance and determination of the court only.

I must not however omit, on the authority of the last-mentioned judge, H. P. C. ii. 157. ‘ that if,
‘ upon the hearing the king’s evidence, or upon your
‘ own knowledge of the incredibility of the witnesses,
‘ you shall be dissatisfied, you may then return the
‘ bill *ignoramus*.’

It is true, my Lord Hale confines this to indictments for capital offences ; but I see no reason why it may not be extended to any indictment whatever.

One caution more occurs on this head of indictment ; and it is the duty of secrecy. To have revealed the king’s counsel disclosed to the grand jurors was formerly taken to be felony ; nay, justice Shard, in the 27th year of the book of assizes, Placit. 63. doubted whether it was not treason ; and though at this day the law be not so severe, yet is this still a very great misdemeanor, and fineable as such, and is moreover a manifest breach of your oath.

I come now, gentlemen, to the second branch of your duty ; namely, that of presenting all offenses which shall come to your knowledge.

And this is much more painful, and of greater difficulty, than the former ; for here you are obliged, without any direct accusation, to inform yourselves as well as is possible of the truth of the fact, and in some measure likewise to be conversant of those laws which subject offences to your presentment.

Upon this head, therefore, I shall beg leave to remind you of those articles which seem to be most worthy of your inquiry at this time : for indeed it would be useless and tedious to enumerate the whole catalogue of misdemeanors, that are to be found in our statutes ;

statutes; many of which, though still in force, are, by the changes of times and fashions, become antiquated, and of little use. *Cessante ratione legis, cessat & ipsa lex*; and there are some accidental and temporary evils, which at particular seasons have, like an epidemic distemper, affected society, but have afterwards disappeared, or at least made very faint efforts to corrupt the public morals. The laws made to suppress such, though very wholesome and necessary at the time of their creation, become obsolete with the evil which occasioned them, and which they were intended to cure. But, gentlemen, there are evils of a more durable kind, which rather resemble chronic than epidemic diseases; and which have so inveterated themselves in the blood of the body politic, that they are perhaps never to be totally eradicated. These it will be always the duty of the magistrate to palliate and keep down as much as possible. And these, gentlemen, are the misdemeanors of which you are to present as many as come to your knowledge.

And, first, gentlemen, I will remind you of presenting all offences committed immediately against the Divine Being: for though all crimes do include in them some degree of sin, and may therefore be considered as offences against the Almighty; yet there are some more directly levelled at his honour, and which the temporal laws do punish as such.

And, 1. All blasphemous expressions against any one of the sacred persons in the Trinity, are severely punishable by the common law; for, as my Lord Hale says, in Taylor's case, 1 Vent. 293. 3 Keb. 607. 621. S. C. 'Such kind of wicked blasphemous words are not only an offence against God and religion, but a crime against the laws, state, and government;' and in that case the defendant for blasphemy, too horrible indeed to be repeated, was sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, to pay a great fine, and to find security for his good behaviour during life.

In like manner, all scandalous and contemptuous words spoken against our holy religion are, by the wisdom of the common law, made liable to an indictment;

ment; for 'Christianity,' says that excellent chief-justice, in the case I have just cited, 'is parcel of the laws of England; therefore, to reproach the Christian religion is to speak in subversion of the law.' And to the same purpose is Attwood's case, in Cro. Jac. 421. where one was indicted before the justices of peace for saying, that the religion now professed was a new religion within fifty years, &c. For as to the doubt concerning the high commissioners, started in that case, and then, as it appears, over-ruled, that is now vanished.

Nor are our statutes silent concerning this dreadful offence; particularly by 1 Eliz. c. 2. § 9. a severe punishment is enacted for any person, who shall, in any interludes, plays, songs, rhimes, or by other open words, declare or speak any thing in derogation, depraving or despising the book of common prayer, &c.

Mr Lambard, I find, mentions this act in his charge, though the execution of it be in the counties confined to the justices of Oyer and Terminer, and of assize; but the 22d section of the statute seems to give a clear jurisdiction to this court, at two of our quarter sessions.

The last offence of this kind, which the wicked tongue of man can commit, is by profane cursing and swearing. This is a sin expressly against the law delivered by God himself to the Jews, and which is as expressly prohibited by our blessed Saviour in his sermon on the mount.

Many statutes have been made against this offence; and by the last of these, which was enacted in the nineteenth year of the present king, every day-labourer, common soldier, common sailor, and common seaman, forfeits one shilling; every other person, under the degree of a gentleman, two shillings; and every person, of or above that degree, five shillings.

And in case any person shall after such conviction offend again, he forfeits double; and for every offence after a second conviction, treble.

Though the execution of this act be entrusted to one single magistrate, and no jurisdiction, unless by appeal, given to the sessions; yet I could not forbear
mentioning

mentioning it here, when I am speaking in the presence of many peace-officers, who are to forfeit forty shillings for neglecting to put the act in execution. And I mention it the rather to inform them, that whenever the offender is unknown to any constable, petty constable, tithingman, or other peace-officer, such constable, &c. is empowered by the act, without any warrant, to seize and detain any such person, and forthwith to carry him before the next magistrate.

And if these officers would faithfully discharge the duty thus enjoined them, and which religion as well as the law requires of them, our streets would soon cease to resound with this detestable crime, so injurious to the honour of God, so directly repugnant to his positive commands, so highly offensive to the ears of all good men, and so very scandalous to the nation in the ears of foreigners.

Having dispatched those misdemeanors (the principal ones at least) which are immediately committed against God, I come now to speak of those which are committed against the person of the king, which person the law wisely holds to be sacred.

Besides those heinous offences against this sacred person which are punished *ultimo supplicio*, there are many articles, some of which involve the criminal in the guilt of præmunire, and others are considered in law as misprisions or contempts. The former of these is by Mr Serjeant Hawkins, in his Pleas of the Crown, divided into two general heads: *viz.*

Into offences against the crown,

And offences against the authority of the King and parliament.

Under the former head he enumerates nine several articles; but as these chiefly relate to such invasions of the royal prerogative as were either made in popish ages in favour of the bishops of Rome, or in those times which bordered on the Reformation in favour of the Church of Rome, and are not practised, at least not openly practised, in these days, I shall have no need to repeat them here.

Under the latter head he mentions only one, which was enacted in the reign of Queen Anne, 6. Ann. c. 7.

‘ If any person shall maliciously and directly, by
 ‘ preaching, teaching, or advised speaking, declare,
 ‘ maintain, and affirm, that the pretended Prince of
 ‘ Wales hath any right or title to the crown of these
 ‘ realms, or that any other person or persons hath or
 ‘ have any right or title to the same, otherwise than
 ‘ according to the acts of settlement: or that the
 ‘ kings or queens of this realm, with the authority of
 ‘ parliament, are not able to make laws to limit the
 ‘ crown and the descent, &c. thereof, shall incur a
 ‘ præmunire.’

A most wholesome and necessary law. And yet so mild hath been our government, that I remember no one instance of putting it in execution.

Misprisions or contempts are against the king’s prerogative, against his title, or against his sacred person or government.

Under these heads will fall any act of public and avowed disobedience; any denying his most just and lawful title to the crown; any overt act which directly tends to encourage or promote rebellion or sedition; all false rumours against his Majesty, or his councils; all contemptuous language concerning his sacred person, by cursing, reviling him, &c. or by uttering any thing which manifests an intention of lessening that esteem, awe, and reverence, which subjects ought to bear to the best of princes.

These are offences, gentlemen, which I must earnestly recommend to your enquiry. This, gentlemen, is your duty as grand jurors; and it must be a most pleasing task to you as you are Englishmen; for in proportion as you love and esteem your liberties, you will be fired with love and reverence towards a prince, under whose administration you enjoy them in the fullest and amplest manner.

Believe me, gentlemen, notwithstanding all which the malice of the disappointed, the madness of republicans, or the folly of Jacobites may insinuate, there is but one method to maintain the liberties of this country, and that is, to maintain the crown on the heads of that family which now happily enjoys it.

If ever subjects had reason to admire the justice of that sentiment of the poet Claudian, ‘ That liberty
 ‘ never

* never flourishes so happily as under a good king,* we have reason at present for that admiration.

I am afraid, gentlemen, this word Liberty, though so much talked of, is but little understood. What other idea can we have of liberty, than that it is the enjoyment of our lives, our persons, and our properties in security; to be free masters of ourselves and our possessions, as far as the known laws of our country will admit; to be liable to no punishment, no confinement, no loss, but what those laws subject us to! Is there any man ignorant enough to deny that this is the description of a free people; or base enough to accuse me of panegyric, when I say this is our present happy condition?

But if the blessing of liberty, like that of health, be not to be perceived by those who enjoy it, or at least must be illustrated by its opposite, let us compare our own condition with that of other countries; of those whose polity some among us pretend so much to admire, and whose government they seem so ardently to affect. *Lettres de cachet*, Bastiles, and inquisitions, may, perhaps, give us a livelier sense of a just and mild administration, than any of the blessings we enjoy under it.

Again, gentlemen, let us compare the present times with the past. And here I need not resort back to those distant ages, when our unhappy forefathers petitioned their conqueror, 'that he would not make them so miserable, nor be so severe to them, as to judge them by a law they understood not.' These are the very words, as we find them preserved in Daniel; in return to which, the historian informs us, nothing was obtained but fair promises. I shall not dwell here on the tyranny of his immediate successor, of whom the same historian records, that 'seeking to establish absolute power by force, he made both himself and his people miserable.'

I need not, gentlemen, here remind you of the oppressions under which our ancestors have groaned in many other reigns, to shake off which the sword of civil war was first drawn in the reign of King John,
which

which was not entirely sheathed during many successive generations.

I might, perhaps, have a fairer title to your patience, in laying open the tyrannical proceedings of later times, while the crown was possessed by four successive princes of the house of Stuart. But this, gentlemen, would be to trespass on your patience indeed: for to mention all their acts of absolute power, all their attempts to subvert the liberties of this nation, would be to relate to you the history of their reigns.

In a word, gentlemen, all the struggles which our ancestors have so bravely maintained with ambitious princes, and particularly with the last-mentioned family, was to maintain and preserve to themselves and their posterity, that very liberty which we now enjoy, under a prince to whom I may truly apply what the philosopher long ago said of Virtue, 'That all who truly know him, must love him.'

The third general head of misdemeanors, gentlemen, is of those which are committed against the subject; and these may be divided into two branches.

Into such as are committed against individuals only:
And into such as affect the public in general.

The former of these will probably come before you by way of indictment; for men are apt enough to revenge their own quarrels; but offences *in commune nocumentum* do not so certainly find an avenger; and thus those crimes, which it is the duty of every man to punish, do often escape with impunity.

Of these, gentlemen, it may be therefore proper to awaken your enquiry, and particularly of such as do in a more especial manner infect the public at this time.

The first of this kind is the offence of profligate lewdness; a crime of very pernicious nature to society, as it tends to corrupt the morals of our youth, and is expressly prohibited by the law of God, under the denunciation of the severest judgment, in the New Testament. Nay, we read in the 25th chapter of Numbers the exceeding wrath of God against the children of Israel for their fornication with the daughters

ters of Moab. Nor did the plague, which on that occasion was sent among them, and which destroyed four and twenty thousand, cease, till Phinehas, the son of Eleazer, and grandson of Aaron, had slain the Israelite together with his harlot.

And this, gentlemen, though a spiritual offence, and of a very high nature too, as appears from what I have mentioned, is likewise a temporal crime, and, as Mr Lambard (122) says, against the peace.

My Lord Coke, in his third Institute, 206, tells us, that, in ancient times, adultery and fornication were punished by fine and imprisonment, and were enquirable in turns and leets. And in the year-book of Henry VII. 1 H. VII. fol. 6. plac. 3. we find the custom of London pleaded for a constable to seize a woman taken in the act of adultery, and to carry her to prison.

And though later times have given up this matter in general to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, yet there are two species which remain at this day cognizable by the common law.

The first is, an open act of lewdness and indecency in public, to the scandal of good manners.

And therefore in Michaelmas term, 15 Car. II. B. R. Sir Charles Sidney was indicted for having exposed himself naked in a balcony in Covent-Garden, to a great multitude of people, with many indecent words and actions; and this was laid to be contrary to the King's peace, and to the great scandal of Christianity. He confessed the indictment, and Siderfin, 1 Sid. 168. who reports the case, tells us, that the court, in consideration of his embarrassed fortune, fined him only two thousand marks, with a short imprisonment, and to be bound three years to his good behaviour; an infamous punishment for a gentleman, but far less infamous than the offence. If any facts of this nature shall come to your knowledge, you will, I make no doubt, present them, without any respect to persons. Sex or quality may render the crime more atrocious, and the example more pernicious; but can give no sanction to such infamous offences, nor will, I hope, ever give impunity.

The second species which falls under this head, is the crime of keeping a brother or bawdy-house. This is a kind of common nuisance, and is punishable by the common law.

It is true, that certain houses of this kind, under the name of public stews, have been sometimes tolerated in Christian countries, to the great scandal of our religion, and in direct contradiction to its positive precepts: but in the thirty-seventh year of Henry the eighth, they were all suppressed by proclamation. And those infamous women who inhabited them were not, says Lord Coke, either buried in Christian burial when they were dead, or permitted to receive the rites of the church while they lived.

And, gentlemen, notwithstanding the favour which the law in many cases extends to married women, yet in this case the wife is equally indictable, and may be found guilty with her husband.

Nor is it necessary that the person be master or mistress of the whole house; for if he or she have only a single room, and will therewith accommodate lewd people to perpetrate acts of uncleanness, they may be indicted for keeping a bawdy-house. And this was the resolution of the whole court, in the *Queen and Peirson*. Salk. 332.

Nor is the guilt confined to those who keep such houses; those who frequent them are no less liable to the censure of the law. Accordingly we find, in the select cases printed at the end of Lord Ch. J. Popham's reports, that a man was indicted in the beginning of the reign of Charles the First, at the sessions of the peace for the town of Northampton, for frequenting a suspected bawdy-house. And the indictment being removed into the King's-Bench, several objections were taken to it, which were all over-ruled, judgment was given upon it, and the defendant fined.

If you shall know, therefore, gentlemen, of any such crimes, it will be your duty to present them to the court.

For however light this offence may be thought or spoken of by idle and dissolute persons, it is a matter

of serious and weighty consideration. 'It is the cause, says my Lord Coke, 'of many mischiefs, the fairest end whereof is beggary; and tends directly to the overthrow of mens bodies, to the wasting of their livelihoods, and to the endangering of their souls.'

To eradicate this vice out of society, however it may be the wish of sober and good men, is, perhaps, an impossible attempt; but to check its progress, and to suppress the open and more profligate practice of it, is within the power of the magistrate, and it is his duty. And this is more immediately incumbent upon us, in an age when brothels are become in a manner the seminaries of education, and that especially of those youths, whose birth makes their right institution of the utmost consequence to the future well-being of the public: for whatever may be the education of these youths, however vitiated and enervated their minds and bodies may be with vices and diseases, they are born to be the governors of our posterity. If, therefore, through the gregious folly of their parents, this town is to be the school of such youths, it behoves us, gentlemen, to take as much care as possible to correct the morals of that school.

And, gentlemen, there are other houses, rather less scandalous, perhaps, but equally dangerous to the society; in which houses the manners of youth are greatly tainted and corrupted. These are those places of public rendezvous, where idle persons of both sexes meet in a very disorderly manner, often at improper hours, and sometimes in disguised habits. These houses, which pretend to be the scenes of innocent diversion and amusement, are in reality the temples of iniquity. Such meetings are *contra bonos mores*; they are considered in law in the nature of a nuisance, and, as such, the keepers and maintainers of them may be presented and punished.

There is great difference, gentlemen, between a morose and over-sanctified spirit which excludes all kind of diversion, and a profligate disposition which hurries us into the most vicious excesses of this kind. 'The common law,' says Mr Pulton in his excellent treatise *De Pace*, fol. 25. b. 'allows many recreations,

ations, which be not with intent to break or disturb the peace, or to offer violence, force, or hurt to the person of any ; but either to try activity, or to increase society, amity, and neighbourly friendship.' He there enumerates many sorts of innocent diversions of the rural kind, and which, for the most part, belong to the lower sort of people. For the upper part of mankind, and in this town, there are many lawful amusements, abundantly sufficient for the recreation of any temperate and sober mind. But, gentlemen, so immoderate are the desires of many, so hungry is their appetite for pleasure, that they may be said to have a fury after it ; and diversion is no longer the recreation or amusement, but the whole business of their lives. They are not content with three theatres, they must have a fourth ; where the exhibitions are not only contrary to law, but contrary to good manners, and where the stage is reduced back again to that degree of licentiousness, which was too enormous for the corrupt state of Athens to tolerate ; and which, as the Roman poet, rather, I think, in the spirit of a censor than a satyrist, tells us, those Athenians, who were not themselves abused, took care to abolish, from their concern for the public.

Gentlemen, our news-papers, from the top of the page to the bottom, the corners of our streets up to the very eves of our houses, present us with nothing but a view of masquerades, balls, and assemblies of various kinds, fairs, wells, gardens, &c. tending to promote idleness, extravagance, and immorality, among all sorts of people.

This fury after licentious and luxurious pleasures is grown to so enormous a height, that it may be called the characteristic of the present age. And it is an evil, gentlemen, of which it is neither easy nor pleasant to foresee all the consequences. Many of them, however, are obvious ; and these are so dreadful, that they will, I doubt not, induce you to use your best endeavours to check the further encrease of this growing mischief ; for the rod of the law, gentlemen, must restrain those within the bounds of de-

cency and sobriety, who are deaf to the voice of reason, and superior to the fear of shame.

Gentlemen, there are another sort of these temples of iniquity, and these are gaming-houses. This vice, gentlemen, is unseparable from a luxurious and idle age; for while luxury produces want, idleness forbids honest labour to supply it. All such houses are nuisances in the eye of the common law; and severe punishments, as well on those who keep them, as on those who frequent and play at them, are inflicted by many statutes. Of these houses, gentlemen, you will, I doubt not, enquire with great diligence; for though possibly there may be some offenders out of your reach, yet if those within it be well and strictly prosecuted, it may, perhaps, in time have some effect on the others. Example in this case may, contrary to its general course, move upwards; and men may become ashamed of offending against those laws with impunity, by which they see their inferiors brought to punishment. But if this effect should not be produced, yet, gentlemen, there is no reason why you should not exert your duty as far as you are able, because you cannot extend it as far as you desire. And to say the truth, to prevent gaming among the lower sort of people, is principally the business of society; and for this plain reason, because they are the most useful members of the society; which, by such means, will lose the benefit of their labour. As for the rich and great, the consequence is generally no other than the exchange of property from the hands of a fool into those of a sharper, who is, perhaps, the more worthy of the two to enjoy it.

I will mention only one article more, and that of a very high nature indeed. It is, gentlemen, the offence of libelling, which is punished by the common law, as it tends immediately to quarrels and breaches of the peace, and very often to bloodshed and murder itself.

The punishment of this offence, saith my Lord Coke, is fine or imprisonment; and if the case be exorbitant, by pillory and loss of ears.

And, gentlemen, even the last of these judgments will appear extremely mild, if we consider, in the first place,

place, the atrocious temper of mind from which this proceeds.

Mr Pulton, in the beginning of his treatise *De Pace*, says of a libeller, 'that he is a secret canker, which concealeth his name, hideth himself in a corner, and privily stingeth his neighbour in his fame, reputation, and credit; who neither knows from whom, nor from what cause he receiveth his blows, nor hath any means to defend himself.' And my Lord Coke, in his 5th Report (125) compares him to a poisoner, who is the meanest, the vilest, and most dangerous of all murderers. Nor can I help repeating to you a most beautiful passage in the great orator Demosthenes, who compares this wretch to a viper, which men ought to crush where-ever they find him, without staying till he bite them.

In the second place, if we consider the injury done by these libellers, it must raise the indignation of every honest and good man: for what is this, but, as Mr Pulton says, 'a note of infamy, intended to defame the person at whom it is levelled, to tread his honour and estimation in the dust, to extirpate and root out his reputation from the face of the earth, to make him a scorn to his enemies, and to be derided and despised by his neighbour?'

If praise, and honour, and reputation, be so highly esteemed by the highest and best of men, that they are often the only rewards which they propose to themselves from the noblest actions; if there be nothing too difficult, too dangerous, or too disagreeable for men to encounter, in order to acquire and preserve these rewards; what a degree of wickedness and barbarity must it be unjustly and wantonly to strip men of that on which they place so high a value?

Nor is reputation to be considered as a chimerical good, or as merely the food of vanity and ambition. Our worldly interests are closely connected with our fame: by losing this, we are deprived of the chief comforts of society, particularly of that which is most dear to us, the friendship and love of all good and virtuous men. Nay, the common law indulged so great

great a privilege to men of good reputation in their neighbourhood, that in many actions the defendant's word was taken in his own cause, if he could bring a certain number of his neighbours to vouch that they believed him.

On the contrary, whoever robs us of our good name, doth not only expose us to public contempt and avoidance, but even to punishment: for by the statute 34 Edw. III. c. 1. the justices of the peace are empowered and directed to bind all such as be not of good fame to their good behaviour, and, if they cannot find sufficient sureties, they may be committed to prison.

Seeing, therefore, the execrable mischiefs perpetrated by this secret canker, this viper, this poisoner, in society, we shall not wonder to hear him so severely condemned in scripture; nor that Aristotle in his Politics should mention slander as one of those great evils which it is difficult for a legislature to guard against; that the Athenians punished it with a very severe and heavy fine, and the Romans with death.

But though the libeller of private persons be so detestable a vermin, yet is the offence still capable of aggravation, when the poison is scattered upon public persons and magistrates. All such reflections are, as my Lord Coke observes, a scandal on the government itself: and such scandal tends not only to the breach of the peace, but to raise seditions and insurrections among the whole body of the people.

And, gentlemen, the higher and greater the magistrates be against whom such slanders are propagated the greater is the danger to the society; and such we find to have been the sense of the legislature in the second year of Richard II. For in the statute of that year, chap. 5. it is said, 'that by such means discord may arise between the Lords and Commons, whereof great peril and mischief might come to all the realm, and quick subversion and destruction of the said realm.' And of such consequence was this apprehended to be, that we find no less than four statutes

statutes to prohibit and punish it; *viz.* Westm. 1. c. 33. 2 R. II. c. 5. 12 R. II. 11. and 2 and 3 P. & M. c. 12. By this last statute a jurisdiction was given to the justices of peace to enquire of all such offences; and if it was by book, ballad, letter, or writing, the offender's right-hand was to be stricken off for the first offence, and for the second he was to incur a præmunire.

This last statute was afterwards prolonged in the last year of Queen Mary, and in the first of Elizabeth, during the life of that princess, and of the heirs of her body.

I have mentioned these laws to you, gentlemen, to shew you the sense of our ancestors of a crime, which, I believe, they never saw carried to so flagitious a height as it is at present; when, to the shame of the age be it spoken, there are men who make a livelihood of scandal. Most of these are persons of the lowest rank and education, men who, lazily declining the labour to which they were born and bred, save the sweat of their brows at the expence of their consciences; and in order to get a little better livelihood, are content to get it, perhaps, in a less painful, but in a baser way than the meanest mechanic.

Of these, gentlemen, it is your business to enquire; of the devisers, of the writers, of the printers, and of the publishers, of all such libels; and I do heartily recommend this enquiry to your care.

To conclude, gentlemen, you will consider yourselves as now summoned to the execution of an office of the utmost importance to the well-being of this community: nor will you, I am confident, suffer that establishment, so wisely and carefully regulated, and so stoutly and zealously maintained by your wise and brave ancestors, to degenerate into mere form and shadow. Grand juries, gentlemen, are in reality the only censors of this nation. As such, the manners of the people are in your hands, and in yours only. You, therefore, are the only correctors of them. If you neglect your duty, the certain consequences to the public are too apparent: for as in a garden, however well cultivated at first, if the weeder's care be omitted,

omitted, the whole must in time be over-run with weeds, and will resemble the wildness and rudeness of a desert; so if those immoralities of the people, which will sprout up in the best constitution, be not from time to time corrected by the hand of justice, they will at length grow up to the most enormous vices, will overspread the whole nation, and in the end must produce a downright state of wild and savage barbarism.

To this censorial office, gentlemen, you are called by our excellent constitution. To execute this duty with vigilance, you are obliged by the duty you owe both to God and to your country. You are invested with full power for the purpose. This you have promised to do, under the sacred sanction of an oath; and you are all met, I doubt not, with disposition and resolution to perform it, with that zeal which I have endeavoured to recommend, and which the peculiar licentiousness of the age so strongly requires.

T H E
J O U R N A L
O F A
VOYAGE to LISBON.

By the late
HENRY FIELDING, Esq;

DEDICATION

TO THE

PUBLIC.

YOUR candour is desired on the perusal of the following sheets, as they are the product of a genius that has long been your delight and entertainment. It must be acknowledged, that a lamp almost burnt out, does not give so steady and uniform a light, as when it blazes in its full vigour; but yet it is well known that, by its wavering, as if struggling against its own dissolution, it sometimes darts a ray as bright as ever. In like manner, a strong and lively genius will, in its last struggles, sometimes mount aloft, and throw forth the most striking marks of its original lustre.

Where-ever these are to be found, do you, the genuine patrons of extraordinary capacities, be as liberal in your applauses of him who is now no more, as you were of him whilst he was yet amongst you. And, on the other hand, if in this little work there should appear any traces of a weakened and decayed life, let your own imaginations place before your eyes a true picture in that of a hand trembling in almost its latest hour, of a body emaciated with pains, yet struggling for your entertainment; and let this affecting picture open each tender heart and call forth a melting tear, to blot out whatever failings may be found in a work begun in pain, and finished almost at the same period with life.

It was thought proper, by the friends of the deceased, that this little piece should come into your hands as it came from the hands of the author; it being judged that you would be better pleased to have an opportunity of observing the faintest traces

of a genius you have long admired, than have it patched by a different hand; by which means the marks of its true author might have been effaced.

That the success of this last-written, though first-published volume, of the author's posthumous pieces, may be attended with some convenience to those innocents he hath left behind, will, no doubt, be a motive to encourage its circulation through the kingdom, which will engage every future genius to exert itself for your pleasure.

The principles and spirit, which breathe in every line of the small fragment begun in answer to Lord Bolingbroke, will unquestionably be a sufficient apology for its publication, although vital strength was wanting to finish a work so happily begun and so well designed.

P R E F A C E.

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THERE would not, perhaps, be a more pleasant, or profitable study, among those which have their principal end in amusement, than that of travels or voyages, if they were writ, as they might be, and ought to be, with a joint view to the entertainment and information of mankind. If the conversation of travellers be so eagerly sought after as it is, we may believe, their books will be still more agreeable company, as they will, in general, be more instructive and more entertaining.

But when I say the conversation of travellers is usually so welcome, I must be understood to mean that only of such as have had good sense enough to apply their peregrinations to a proper use, so as to acquire from them a real and valuable knowledge of men and things; both which are best known by comparison. If the customs and manners of men were every where the same, there would be no office so dull as that of a traveller: for the difference of hills, valleys, rivers; in short, the various views in which we may see the face of the earth, would scarce afford him a pleasure worthy of his labour; and surely it would give him very little opportunity of communicating any kind of entertainment or improvement to others.

To make a traveller an agreeable companion to a man of sense, it is necessary, not only that he should have seen much, but that he should have overlooked much of what he hath seen. Nature is not, any more than a great genius, always admirable in her productions: and therefore the traveller, who may be called her commentator, should not expect to find every where subjects worthy of his notice.

It is certain, indeed, that one may be guilty of omission as well as of the opposite extreme; but a

fault on that side will be more easily pardoned, as it is better to be hungry than surfeited, and to miss your desert at the table of a man whose gardens abound with the choicest fruits, than to have your taste affronted with every sort of trash that can be picked up at the green-stall or the wheel-barrow.

If we should carry on the analogy between the traveller and the commentator, it is impossible to keep one's eye a moment off from the laborious much-read Dr Zachary Grey, of whose redundant notes on *Hudibras* I shall only say, that it is, I am confident, the single book extant in which above five hundred authors are quoted, not one of which could be found in the collection of the late Dr Mead.

As there are few things which a traveller is to record, there are fewer on which he is to offer his observations: this is the office of the reader, and it is so pleasant a one, that he seldom chuses to have it taken from him, under the pretence of lending him assistance. Some occasions, indeed, there are, when proper observations are pertinent, and others when they are necessary; but good sense alone must point them out. I shall lay down only one general rule, which I believe to be of universal truth between reader and hearer, as it is between author and reader; this is, that the latter never forgive any observation of the former which doth not convey some knowledge that they are sensible they could not possibly have attained of themselves.

But all his pains in collecting knowledge, all his judgment in selecting, and all his art in communicating it, will not suffice, unless he can make himself, in some degree, an agreeable, as well as an instructive companion. The highest instruction we can derive from the tedious tale of a dull fellow, scarce ever pays us for our attention. There is nothing, I think, half so valuable as knowledge, and yet there is nothing which men will give themselves so little trouble to attain; unless it be, perhaps, that lowest degree of it, which is the object of curiosity, and which hath therefore that active passion constantly employed

ployed in its service. This, indeed, it is in the power of every traveller to gratify; but it is the leading principle in weak minds only.

To render his relation agreeable to the man of sense, it is therefore necessary that the voyager should possess several eminent and rare talents; so rare, indeed, that it is almost wonderful to see them ever united in the same person.

And if all these talents must concur in the relater, they are certainly in a more eminent degree necessary to the writer: for here the narration admits of higher ornaments of style, and every fact and sentiment offers itself to the fullest and most deliberate examination.

It would appear therefore, I think, somewhat strange, if such writers as these should be found extremely common; since Nature hath been a most parsimonious distributor of her richest talents, and hath seldom bestowed many on the same person. But, on the other hand, why there should scarce exist a single writer of this kind worthy our regard; and whilst there is no other branch of history (for this is history) which hath not exercised the greatest pens, why this alone should be overlooked by all men of great genius and erudition, and delivered up to the Goths and Vandals as their lawful property, is altogether as difficult to determine.

And yet that this is the case, with some very few exceptions, is most manifest. Of these I shall willingly admit Burnet and Addison; if the former was not perhaps to be considered as a political essayist, and the latter as a commentator on the classics, rather than as a writer of travels; which last title perhaps they would both of them have been least ambitious to affect.

Indeed, if these two, and two or three more, should be removed from the mass, there would remain such a heap of dulness behind, that the appellation of voyage-writer would not appear very desirable.

I am not here unapprized that old Homer himself is by some considered as a voyage-writer; and indeed the beginning of his *Odyssy* may be urged to coun-

tenance that opinion, which I shall not controvert. But whatever species of writing the *Odyſſey* is of, it is ſurely at the head of that ſpecies, as much as the *Iliad* is of another ; and ſo far the excellent Longinus would allow, I believe, at this day.

But, in reality, the *Odyſſey*, the *Telemachus*, and all of that kind, are to the voyage-writing I here intend, what romance is to true hiſtory, the former being the confounder and corrupter of the latter. I am far from ſuppoſing, that Homer, Heſiod, and the other ancient poets and mythologiſts, had any ſettled deſign to pervert and confuſe the records of antiquity ; but it is certain they have effected it ; and, for my part, I muſt confeſs I ſhould have honoured and loved Homer more, had he written a true hiſtory of his own times in humble proſe, than thoſe noble poems that have ſo juſtly collected the praiſe of all ages ; for though I read theſe with more admiration and aſtoniſhment, I ſtill read Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, with more amuſement and more ſatisfaction.

The original poets were not, however, without excuſe. They found the limits of Nature too ſtrait for the immenſity of their genius, which they had not room to exert, without extending fact by fiction ; and that eſpecially at a time when the manners of men were too ſimple to afford that variety, which they have ſince offered in vain to the choice of the meaneſt writers. In doing this, they are again excuſable for the manner in which they have done it,

Ut ſpecioſa dehinc miracula promunt.

They are not indeed ſo properly ſaid to turn reality into fiction, as fiction into reality. Their paintings are ſo bold, their colours ſo ſtrong, that every thing they touch ſeems to exiſt in the very manner they reſent it : their portraits are ſo juſt, and their landſcapes ſo beautiful, that we acknowledge the ſtrokes of Nature in both, without enquiring whether Nature herſelf, or her journeyman the poet, formed the firſt pattern of the piece.

But other writers (I will put Fliny at their head) have no ſuch pretenſions to indulgence : they ly for
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lying fake, or in order insolently to impose the most monstrous improbabilities and absurdities upon their readers on their own authority; treating them as some fathers treat children, and as other fathers do laymen, exacting their belief of whatever they relate, on no other foundation than their own authority, without ever taking the pains of adapting their lies to human credulity, and of calculating them for the meridian of a common understanding; but with as much weakness as wickedness, and with more impudence often than either, they assert facts contrary to the honour of God, to the visible order of the creation, to the known laws of nature, to the histories of former ages, and to the experience of our own, and which no man can at once understand and believe.

If it should be objected, (and it can no where be objected better than where I now write *, as there is no where more pomp of bigotry), that whole nations have been firm believers in such most absurd suppositions; I reply, the fact is not true. They have known nothing of the matter, and have believed they knew not what. It is, indeed, with me no matter of doubt, but that the Pope and his clergy might teach any of those Christian Heterodoxies, the tenets of which are the most diametrically opposite to their own; nay, all the doctrines of Zoroaster, Confucius, and Mahomet, not only with certain and immediate success, but without one Catholic in a thousand knowing he had changed his religion.

What motive a man can have to sit down, and to draw forth a list of stupid, senseless, incredible lies upon paper, would be difficult to determine, did not Vanity present herself so immediately as the adequate cause. The vanity of knowing more than other men is, perhaps, besides hunger, the only inducement to writing, at least to publishing, at all: why then should not the voyage-writer be inflamed with the glory of having seen what no man ever did or will see but himself? This is the true source of the wonderful, in the discourse and writings, and sometimes, I be-

* At Lisbon.

lieve, in the actions of men. There is another fault, of a kind directly opposite to this, to which these writers are sometimes liable, when, instead of filling their pages with monsters which nobody hath ever seen, and with adventures which never have, nor could possibly have happened to them, they waste their time and paper with recording things and facts of so common a kind, that they challenge no other right of being remembered, than as they had the honour of having happened to the author, to whom nothing seems trivial that in any manner happens to himself. Of such consequence do his own actions appear to one of this kind, that he would probably think himself guilty of infidelity, should he omit the minutest thing in the detail of his journal. That the fact is true, is sufficient to give it a place there, without any consideration whether it is capable of pleasing or surprising, of diverting or informing the reader.

I have seen a play (if I mistake not, it is one of Mrs Behn's, or of Mrs Centlivre's) where this vice, in a voyage-writer, is finely ridiculed. An ignorant pedant, to whose government, for I know not what reason, the conduct of a young nobleman, in his travels, is committed, and who is sent abroad to shew my Lord the world, of which he knows nothing himself, before his departure from a town, calls for his journal, to record the goodness of the wine and tobacco, with other articles of the same importance, which are to furnish the materials of a voyage at his return home. The humour, it is true, is here carried very far; and yet, perhaps, very little beyond what is to be found in writers who profess no intention of dealing in humour at all.

Of one or other, or both of these kinds are, I conceive, all that vast pile of books, which pass under the names of voyages, travels, adventures, lives, memoirs, histories, &c. some of which a single traveller sends into the world in many volumes, and others are, by judicious booksellers, collected into vast bodies in folio, and inscribed with their own names, as if they were indeed their own travels; thus unjustly attributing to themselves the merit of others.

Now

Now from both these faults we have endeavoured to steer clear in the following narrative; which, however the contrary may be insinuated by ignorant, unlearned, and fresh-water critics, who have never travelled either in books or ships, I do solemnly declare doth, in my own impartial opinion, deviate less from truth than any other voyage extant; my Lord Anson's alone being, perhaps, excepted.

Some few embellishments must be allowed to every historian: for we are not to conceive that the speeches in Livy, Sallust, or Thucydides, were literally spoken in the very words in which we now read them. It is sufficient that every fact hath its foundation in truth, as I do seriously aver is the case in the ensuing pages; and when it is so, a good critic will be so far from denying all kind of ornament of style or diction, or even of circumstance to his author, that he would be rather sorry if he omitted it: for he could hence derive no other advantage than the loss of an additional pleasure in the perusal.

Again, if any merely common incident should appear in this journal, which will seldom, I apprehend, be the case, the candid reader will easily perceive it is not introduced for its own sake, but for some observations and reflexions naturally resulting from it; and which, if but little to his amusement, tend directly to the instruction of the reader, or to the information of the public; to whom if I chuse to convey such instruction or information with an air of joke and laughter, none but the dullest of fellows will, I believe, censure it; but if they should, I have the authority of more than one passage in Horace to alledge in my defence.

Having thus endeavoured to obviate some censures to which a man, without the gift of foresight, or any fear of the imputation of being a conjurer, might conceive this work would be liable; I might now undertake a more pleasing task, and fall at once to the direct and positive praises of the work itself; of which indeed I could say a thousand good things; but the task is so very pleasant, that I shall leave it wholly to the reader; and it is all the task that I impose on him; a moderation for which he may think himself obliged to.

to me, when he compares it with the conduct of authors, who often fill a whole sheet with their own praises, to which they sometimes set their own real names, and sometimes a fictitious one. One hint, however, I must give the kind reader; which is, that if he should be able to find no sort of amusement in the book, he will be pleased to remember the public utility which will arise from it. If entertainment, as Mr Richardson observes, be but a secondary consideration in a romance; with which Mr Addison I think agrees, affirming the use of the pastry-cook to be the first; if this, I say, be true of a mere work of invention, sure it may well be so considered in a work founded, like this, on truth; and where the political reflexions form so distinguishing a part.

But perhaps I may hear, from some critic of the most saturnine complexion, that my vanity must have made a horrid dupe of my judgment, if it hath flattered me with an expectation of having any thing here seen in a grave light, or of conveying any useful instruction to the public, or to their guardians. I answer, with the great man whom I just now quoted, that my purpose is to convey instruction in the vehicle of entertainment; and so to bring about at once, like the revolution in the Rehearsal, a perfect reformation of the laws relating to our maritime affairs: an undertaking, I will not say more modest, but surely more feasible, than that of reforming a whole people, by making use of a vehicular story, to wheel in among them worse manners than their own.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

IN the beginning of August, 1753, when I had taken the Duke of Portland's medicine, as it is called, near a year, the effects of which had been the carrying off the symptoms of a lingering imperfect gout, I was persuaded by Mr Ranby, the Kings premier serjeant-surgeon, and the ablest advice, I believe, in all branches of the physical profession, to go immediately to Bath. I accordingly writ that very night to Mrs Bowden, who, by the next post, informed me she had taken me a lodging for a month certain.

Within a few days after this, whilst I was preparing for my journey, and when I was almost fatigued to death with several long examinations, relating to five different murders, all committed within the space of a week, by different gangs of street-robbers, I received a message from his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, by Mr Carrington, the King's messenger, to attend his Grace the next morning, in Lincoln's-inn-fields, upon some business of importance; but I excused myself from complying with the message, as, besides being lame, I was very ill with the great fatigues I had lately undergone, added to my distemper.

His Grace, however, sent Mr Carrington, the very next morning, with another summons; with which, though in the utmost distress, I immediately complied; but the Duke happening, unfortunately for me, to be then particularly engaged, after I had waited some time, sent a gentleman to discourse with me on the best plan which could be invented for putting an immediate end to those murders and robberies which were every day committed in the streets; upon which I promised to transmit my opinion, in writing,
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to his Grace, who, as the gentleman informed me, intended to lay it before the Privy council.

Though this visit cost me a severe cold, I, notwithstanding, set myself down to work, and in about four days sent the Duke as regular a plan as I could form, with all the reasons and arguments I could bring to support it, drawn out in several sheets of paper; and soon received a message from the Duke, by Mr Carrington, acquainting me, that my plan was highly approved of, and that all the terms of it would be complied with.

The principal and most material of those terms, was the immediate depositing six hundred pounds in my hands; at which small charge I undertook to demolish the then reigning gangs, and to put the civil policy into such order, that no such gangs should ever be able for the future, to form themselves into bodies, or at least to remain any time formidable to the public.

I had delayed my Bath-journey for some time, contrary to the repeated advice of my physical acquaintance, and to the ardent desire of my warmest friends, though my distemper was now turned to a deep jaundice; in which case the Bath-waters are generally reputed to be almost infallible. But I had the most eager desire of demolishing this gang of villains and cut-throats, which I was sure of accomplishing the moment I was enabled to pay a fellow who had undertaken, for a small sum, to betray them into the hands of a set of thief-takers, whom I had enlisted into the service, all men of known and approved fidelity and intrepidity.

After some weeks the money was paid at the treasury; and within a few days after two hundred pound of it came to my hands, the whole gang of cut-throats was entirely dispersed; seven of them were in actual custody, and the rest driven, some out of town, and others out of the kingdom.

Though my health was now reduced to the last extremity, I continued to act with the utmost vigour against these villains; in examining whom, and intaking the depositions against them, I have often spent

whole days, nay sometimes whole nights, especially when there was any difficulty in procuring sufficient evidence to convict them; which is a very common case in street-robberies, even when the guilt of the party is sufficiently apparent to satisfy the most tender conscience. But courts of justice know nothing of a cause more than what is told them on oath by a witness; and the most flagitious villain upon earth is tried in the same manner as a man of the best character, who is accused of the same crime.

Meanwhile, amidst all my fatigues and distresses, I had the satisfaction to find my endeavours had been attended with such success, that this hellish society were almost utterly extirpated; and that, instead of reading of murders and street-robberies in the news almost every morning, there was, in the remaining part of the month of November, and in all December, not only no such thing as a murder, but not even a street-robbery committed. Some such, indeed, were mentioned in the public papers; but they were all found, on the strictest enquiry, to be false.

In this entire freedom from street-robberies, during the dark months, no man will, I believe, scruple to acknowledge, that the winter of 1753 stands unrivaled, during a course of many years; and this may possibly appear the more extraordinary to those who recollect the outrages with which it began.

Having thus fully accomplished my undertaking, I went into the country in a very weak and deplorable condition, with no fewer or less diseases than a jaundice, a dropsy, and an asthma, altogether uniting their forces in the destruction of a body so entirely emaciated, that it had lost all its muscular flesh.

Mine was now no longer what is called a Bath case; nor, if it had been so, had I strength remaining sufficient to go thither, a ride of six miles only being attended with an intolerable fatigue. I now discharged my lodgings at Bath, which I had hitherto kept. I began, in earnest, to look on my case as desperate, and I had vanity enough to rank myself with those heroes who, of old times, became voluntary sacrifices to the good of the public.

But, lest the reader should be too eager to catch at the word *vanity*, and should be unwilling to indulge me with so sublime a gratification, for I think he is not too apt to gratify me, I will take my key a pitch lower, and will frankly own that I had a stronger motive than the love of the public to push me on; I will therefore confess to him that my private affairs at the beginning of the winter had but a gloomy-aspect; for I had not plundered the public or the poor of those sums, which men who are always ready to plunder both, as much as they can, have been pleased to suspect me of taking: on the contrary, by composing, instead of inflaming, the quarrels of porters and beggars (which I blush when I say hath not been universally practised) and by refusing to take a shilling from a man who most undoubtedly would not have had another left, I had reduced an income of about five hundred pounds * a year of the dirtiest money upon earth, to little more than three hundred pound; a considerable proportion of which remained with my clerk; and, indeed, if the whole had done so, as it ought,

* A predecessor of mine used to boast that he made one thousand pounds a year in his office: but how he did this (if indeed he did it) is to me a secret. His clerk, now mine, told me I had more business than he had ever known there; I am sure, I had as much as any man could do. The truth is, the fees are so very low, when any are due, and so much is done for nothing, that if a single justice of peace had business enough to employ twenty clerks, neither he nor they would get much by their labour. The public will not therefore, I hope, think I betray a secret, when I inform them, that I received from the government a yearly pension out of the public service-money; which, I believe, indeed would have been larger, had my great patron been convinced of an error, which I have heard him utter more than once, 'That he could not indeed say, that the acting as a principal justice of peace in Westminster was on all accounts very desirable, but that all the world knew it was a very lucrative office. Now to have shewn him plainly, that a man must be a rogue to make a very little this way, and that he could not make much by being as great a rogue as he could be, would have required more confidence than, I believe, he had in me, and more of his conversation than he chose to allow me; I therefore resigned the office, and the farther execution of my plan to my brother, who had long been my assistant. And now, lest the case between me and the reader should be the same in both instances as it was between me and the great man, I will not add another word on the subject.

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he would be but ill paid for sitting almost sixteen hours in the twenty-four, in the most unwholesome, as well as nauseous air in the universe, and which hath in his case corrupted a good constitution without contaminating his morals.

But, not to trouble the reader with anecdotes, contrary to my own rule laid down in my preface, I assure him I thought my family was very slenderly provided for; and that my health began to decline so fast, that I had very little more of life left to accomplish what I had thought of too late. I rejoiced therefore greatly in seeing an opportunity, as I apprehended, of gaining such merit in the eye of the public, that, if my life were the sacrifice to it, my friends might think they did a popular act in putting my family at least beyond the reach of necessity, which I myself began to despair of doing. And though I disclaim all pretence to that Spartan or Roman patriotism, which loved the public so well that it was always ready to become a voluntary sacrifice to the public good, I do solemnly declare, I have that love for my family.

After this confession therefore, that the public was not the principal deity to which my life was offered a sacrifice, and when it is farther considered what a poor sacrifice this was, being indeed no other than the giving up what I saw little likelihood of being able to hold much longer, and which, upon the terms I held it, nothing but the weakness of human nature could represent to me as worth holding at all; the world may, I believe, without envy allow me all the praise to which I have any title.

My aim, in fact, was not praise, which is the last gift they care to bestow; at least, this was not my aim as an end, but rather as a means, of purchasing some moderate provision for my family, which, though it should exceed my merit, must fall infinitely short of my service, if I succeeded in my attempt.

To say the truth, the public never act more wisely, than when they act most liberally in the distribution of their rewards; and here the good they receive is often more to be considered than the motive from which they receive it. Example alone is the end of

all public punishments and rewards. Laws never inflict disgrace in resentment, nor confer honour from gratitude. 'For it is very hard, my lord,' said a convicted felon at the bar to the late excellent judge Burnet, 'to hang a poor man for stealing a horse.' 'You are not to be hanged, Sir,' answered my ever-honoured and beloved friend, 'for stealing a horse; but you are to be hanged, that horses may not be stolen.' In like manner it might have been said to the late Duke of Marlborough, when the parliament was so deservedly liberal to him, after the battle of Blenheim, 'You receive not those honours and bounties on account of a victory past, but that other victories may be obtained.'

I was now, in the opinion of all men, dying of a complication of disorders; and, were I desirous of playing the advocate, I have an occasion fair enough: but I disdain such an attempt. I relate facts plainly and simply as they are, and let the world draw from them what conclusions they please, taking with them the following facts for their instruction. The one is, that the proclamation offering one hundred pound for the apprehending felons for certain felonies committed in certain places, which I prevented from being revived, had formerly cost the government several thousand pounds within a single year. Secondly, that all such proclamations, instead of curing the evil, had actually increased it; had multiplied the number of robberies; had propagated the worst and wickedest of perjuries; had laid snares for youth and ignorance, which, by the temptation of these rewards, had been sometimes drawn into guilt; and sometimes, which cannot be thought on without the highest horror, had destroyed them without it. Thirdly, That my plan had not put the government to more than three hundred pound expence, and had produced none of the ill consequences above-mentioned; but, lastly, Had actually suppressed the evil for a time, and had plainly pointed out the means of suppressing it for ever. This I would myself have undertaken, had my health permitted, at the annual expence of the abovementioned sum.

After

After having stood the terrible six weeks which succeeded last Christmas, and put a lucky end, if they had known their own interests, to such numbers of aged and infirm valetudinarians, who might have gasped through two or three mild winters more, I returned to town in February, in a condition less despaired of by myself than by any of my friends. I now became the patient of Dr Ward, who wished I had taken his advice earlier.

By his advice I was tapped, and fourteen quarts of water drawn from my belly. The sudden relaxation which this caused, added to my enervate, emaciated habit of body, so weakened me, that within two days I was thought to be falling into the agonies of death.

I was at the worst on that memorable day when the public lost Mr Pelham. From that day I began slowly, as it were, to draw my feet out of the grave; till in two months time I had again acquired some little degree of strength, but was again full of water.

During this whole time, I took Mr Ward's medicines, which had seldom any perceptible operation. Those in particular of the diaphoretic kind, the working of which is thought to require a great strength of constitution to support, had so little effect on me, that Mr Ward declared it was as vain to attempt sweating me as a deal board.

In this situation I was tapped a second time. I had one quart of water less taken from me now than before; but I bore all the consequences of the operation much better. This I attributed greatly to a dose of laudanum prescribed by my surgeon. It first gave me the most delicious flow of spirits, and afterwards as comfortable a nap.

The month of May, which was now begun, it seemed reasonable to expect, would introduce the spring, and drive off that winter which yet maintained its footing on the stage. I resolved therefore to visit a little house of mine in the country, which stands at Ealing, in the county of Middlesex, in the best air, I believe, in the whole kingdom, and far superior to that of Kensington Gravel-Pits; for the gravel there much wider and deeper, the place higher and more

Open toward the south, whilst it is guarded from the north wind by a ridge of hills, and from the smells and smook of London by its distance ; which last is not the fate of Kensington, when the wind blows from any corner of the east.

Obligations to Mr Ward I shall always confess ; for I am convinced that he omitted no care in endeavouring to serve me, without any expectation or desire of fee or reward.

The powers of Mr Ward's remedies want, indeed, no unfair puffs of mine to give them credit : and though this distemper of the dropsy stands, I believe, first in the list of those over which he is always certain of triumphing ; yet, possibly, there might be something particular in my case, capable of eluding that radical force which had healed so many thousands. The same distemper, in different constitutions, may possibly be attended with such different symptoms, that to find an infallible nostrum for the curing any one distemper in every patient, may be almost as difficult as to find a panacea for the cure of all.

But even such a panacea one of the greatest scholars and best of men did lately apprehend he had discovered. It is true, indeed, he was no physician ; that is, he had not by the forms of his education acquired a right of applying his skill in the art of physic to his own private advantage ; and yet, perhaps, it may be truly asserted, that no other modern hath contributed so much to make his physical skill useful to the public ; at least, that none hath undergone the pains of communicating this discovery in writing to the world. The reader, I think, will scarce need to be informed that the writer I mean is the late bishop of Cloyne in Ireland ; and the discovery, that of the virtues of Tar-water.

I then happened to recollect, upon a hint given me by the inimitable and shamefully-distressed author of the *Female Quixote*, that I had many years before, from curiosity only, taken a cursory view of bishop Berkley's treatise on the virtues of tar-water, which I had formerly observed he strongly contends to be that real panacea, which Sydenham supposes to have

have an existence in nature, though it yet remains undiscovered, and, perhaps, will always remain so.

Upon the re-perusal of this book, I found the bishop only asserting his opinion, that tar-water might be useful in the dropsy, since he had known it to have a surprising success in the cure of a most stubborn anasarca, which is indeed no other than, as the word implies, the dropsy of the flesh; and this was, at that time, a large part of my complaint.

After a short trial, therefore, of a milk diet, which I presently found did not suit with my case, I betook myself to the bishop's prescription, and dosed myself every morning and evening with half a pint of tar-water.

It was no more than three weeks since my last tapping, and my belly and limbs were distended with water. This did not give me the worse opinion of tar-water: for I never supposed there could be any such virtue in tar-water, as immediately to carry off a quantity of water already collected. For my delivery from this I well knew I must be again obliged to the trochar; and that if the tar-water did me any good at all, it must be only by the slowest degrees; and that if it should ever get the better of my distemper, it must be by the tedious operation of undermining, and not by a sudden attack and storm.

Some visible effects, however, and far beyond what my most sanguine hopes could with any modesty expect, I very soon experienced; the tar-water having, from the very first, lessened my illness, increased my appetite, and added, though in a very slow proportion, to my daily strength.

But if my strength had increased a little, my water daily increased much more. So that, by the end of May, my belly became again ripe for the trochar, and I was a third time tapped; upon which, two very favourable symptoms appeared. I had three quarts of water taken from me less than had been taken the last time; and I bore the relaxation with much less (indeed with scarce any) faintness.

Those of my physical friends, on whose judgment I chiefly depended, seemed to think my only chance
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of life consisted in having the whole summer before me; in which I might hope to gather sufficient strength to encounter the inclemencies of the ensuing winter. But this chance began daily to lessen. I saw the summer mouldering away; or rather, indeed, the year passing away without intending to bring on any summer at all. In the whole month of May, the sun scarce appeared three times; so that the early fruits came to the fulness of their growth, and to some appearance of ripeness, without acquiring any real maturity; having wanted the heat of the sun to soften and meliorate their juices. I saw the dropsy gaining rather than losing ground; the distance growing still shorter between the tappings. I saw the asthma likewise beginning again to become more troublesome. I saw the Midsummer quarter drawing towards a close. So that I conceived, if the Michaelmas quarter should steal off in the same manner, as it was, in my opinion, very much to be apprehended it would, I should be delivered up to the attacks of winter, before I recruited my forces, so as to be any wise able to withstand them.

I now began to recall an intention, which from the first dawnings of my recovery I had conceived, of removing to a warmer climate; and finding this to be approved of by a very eminent physician, I resolved to put it into immediate execution.

Aix in Provence was the place first thought on; but the difficulties of getting thither were insuperable. The journey by land, besides the expence of it, was infinitely too long and fatiguing; and I could hear of no ship that was likely to set out from London, within any reasonable time, for Marseilles, or any other port in that part of the Mediterranean.

Lisbon was presently fixed on in its room. The air here, as it was near four degrees to the south of Aix, must be more mild and warm, and the winter shorter and less piercing.

It was not difficult to find a ship bound to a place with which we carry on so immense a trade. Accordingly, my brother soon informed me of the excellent accommodations for passengers, which were to be found

found on board a ship that was obliged to sail for Lisbon in three days.

I eagerly embraced the offer, notwithstanding the shortness of the time; and having given my brother full power to contract for our passage, I began to prepare my family for the voyage with the utmost expedition.

But our great haste was needless; for the Captain having twice put off his sailing, I at length invited him to dinner with me at Fordhook, a full week after the time on which he had declared, and that with many asseverations, he must, and would, weigh anchor.

He dined with me, according to his appointment; and when all matters were settled between us, left me with positive orders to be on board the Wednesday following; when he declared he would fall down the river to Gravesend; and would not stay a moment for the greatest man in the world.

He advised me to go to Gravesend by land, and there wait the arrival of his ship; assigning many reasons for this, every one of which was, as I well remember, among those that had before determined me to go on board near the Tower.

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T H E
J O U R N A L
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V O Y A G E to L I S B O N.

Wednesday, June 26. 1754.

ON this day, the most melancholy sun I had ever beheld arose, and found me awake at my house at Fordhook. By the light of this sun, I was, in my own opinion, lost to behold and take leave of some of those creatures on whom I doated with a mother-like fondness, guided by nature and passion, and uncured and unhardened by all the doctrine of that philosophical school where I had learned to bear pains and to despise death.

In this situation, as I could not conquer nature, I submitted entirely to her; and she made as great a fool of me as she had ever done of any woman whatsoever: under pretence of giving me leave to enjoy, she drew me in to suffer, the company of my little ones, during eight hours; and I doubt not whether, in that time, I did not undergo more than in all my distemper.

At twelve precisely my coach was at the door, which was no sooner told me than I kissed my children round, and went into it with some little resolution. My wife, who behaved more like a heroine and philosopher, though at the same time the tenderest mother in the world, and my eldest daughter, followed me; some friends went with us, and others here took their leave; and I heard my behaviour applauded,
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with many murmurs and praises to which I well knew I had no title; as all other such philosophers may, if they have any modesty, confess on the like occasions.

In two hours we arrived in Redriffe, and immediately went on board, and were to have sailed the next morning; but as this was the king's proclamation-day, and consequently a holiday at the Custom-house, the Captain could not clear his vessel till the Thursday; for these holidays are as strictly observed as those in the Popish calendar, and are almost as numerous. I might add, that both are opposite to the genius of trade, and consequently *contra bonum publicum*.

To go on board the ship, it was necessary first to go into a boat; a matter of no small difficulty, as I had no use of my limbs, and was to be carried by men, who, though sufficiently strong for their burden, were, like Archimedes, puzzled to find a steady footing. Of this, as few of my readers have not gone into wherries on the Thames, they will easily be able to form to themselves an idea. However, by the assistance of my friend Mr Welch, whom I never think or speak of but with love and esteem, I conquered this difficulty, as I did afterwards that of ascending the ship, into which I was hoisted with more ease by a chair lifted with pulleys. I was soon seated in a great chair in the cabin, to refresh myself after a fatigue which had been more intolerable, in a quarter of a mile's passage from my coach to the ship, than I had before undergone in a land-journey of twelve miles, which I had travelled with the utmost expedition.

This latter fatigue was, perhaps, somewhat heightened by an indignation, which I could not prevent arising in my mind. I think, upon my entrance into the boat, I presented a spectacle of the highest horror. The total loss of limbs was apparent to all who saw me, and my face contained marks of a most diseased state, if not of death itself. Indeed, so ghastly was my countenance, that timorous women with child had abstained from my house, for fear of the ill consequences of looking at me. In this condition, I ran the gauntlope (so, I think, I may justly call it) through

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rows of sailors and watermen, few of whom failed of paying their compliments to me, by all manner of insults and jests on my misery. No man who knew me will think I conceived any personal resentment at this behaviour; but it was a lively picture of that cruelty and inhumanity, in the nature of men, which I have often contemplated with concern; and which leads the mind into a train of very uncomfortable and melancholy thoughts. It may be said, that this barbarous custom is peculiar to the English, and of them only to the lowest degree; that it is an excrescence of an uncontrouled licentiousness, mistaken for liberty, and never shews itself in men who are polished and refined, in such manner as human nature requires, to produce that perfection of which it is susceptible, and to purge away that malevolence of disposition, of which, at our birth, we partake in common with the savage creation.

This may be said, and this is all that can be said; and it is, I am afraid, but little satisfactory to account for the inhumanity of those, who, while they boast of being made after God's own image, seem to bear in their minds a resemblance of the vilest species of brutes; or rather, indeed, of our idea of devils: for I don't know that any brutes can be taxed with such malevolence.

A surloin of beef was now placed on the table, for which, though little better than carrion, as much was charged by the master of the little paltry alehouse who dressed it, as would have been demanded for all the elegance of the King's Arms, or any other polite tavern or eating-house: for, indeed, the difference between the best house and the worst is, that at the former you pay largely for luxury, at the latter for nothing.

Thursday, June 27. This morning the Captain, who lay on shore at his own house, paid us a visit in the cabin; and behaved like an angry bashaw, declaring, that had he known we were not to be pleased, he would not have carried us for five hundred pounds. He added many asseverations, that he was a gentleman, and despised money; not forgetting several hints

of the presents which had been made him for his cabin, of twenty, thirty, and forty guineas, by several gentlemen, over and above the sum for which they had contracted. This behaviour greatly surpris'd me, as I knew not how to account for it, nothing having happened since we parted from the Captain the evening before in perfect good humour; and all this broke forth on the first moment of his arrival this morning. He did not, however, suffer my amazement to have any long continuance, before he clearly shew'd me, that all this was meant only as an apology to introduce another procrastination (being the fifth) of his weighing anchor; which was now postponed till Saturday, for such was his will and pleasure.

Besides the disagreeable situation in which we then lay, in the confines of Wapping and Redriffe, tasting a delicious mixture of the air of both these sweet places, and enjoying the concord of sweet sounds of seamen, watermen, fishwomen, oysterwomen, and of all the vociferous inhabitants of both shores, composing altogether a greater variety of harmony than Hogarth's imagination hath brought together in that print of his, which is enough to make a man deaf to look at; I had a more urgent cause to press our departure, which was, that the dropsy, for which I had undergone three tappings, seem'd to threaten me with a fourth discharge, before I should reach Lisbon, and when I should have nobody on board capable of performing the operation; but I was oblig'd to hearken to the voice of Reason, if I may use the Captain's own words, and to rest myself contented. Indeed, there was no alternative within my reach, but what would have cost me much too dear.

There are many evils in society, from which people of the highest rank are so entirely exempt, that they have not the least knowledge or idea of them; nor, indeed, of the characters which are formed by them. Such, for instance, is the conveyance of goods and passengers from one place to another. Now there is no such thing as any kind of knowledge contemptible in itself; and as the particular knowledge I here mean is entirely necessary to the well-understanding and well-

well-enjoying this journal ; and, lastly, as in this case the most ignorant will be those very readers whose amusement we chiefly consult, and to whom we wish to be supposed principally to write, we will here enter somewhat largely into the discussion of this matter ; the rather, for that no ancient or modern author (if we can trust the catalogue of Dr Mead's library) hath ever undertaken it ; but that it seems (in the style of Don Quixotte) a task reserved for my pen alone.

When I first conceived this intention, I began to entertain thoughts of enquiring into the antiquity of travelling ; and, as many persons have performed in this way (I mean have travelled) at the expence of the public, I flattered myself that the spirit of improving arts and sciences, and of advancing useful and substantial learning, which so eminently distinguishes this age, and hath given rise to more speculative societies in Europe than I at present can recollect the names of ; perhaps, indeed, than I or any other besides their very near neighbours ever heard mentioned, would assist in promoting so curious a work. A work ! begun with the same views, calculated for the same purposes, and fitted for the same uses, with the labours which those right honourable societies have so chearfully undertaken themselves, and encouraged in others ; sometimes with the highest honours, even with admission into their colleges, and with inrollment among their members.

From these societies I promised myself all assistance in their power, particularly the communication of such valuable manuscripts and records as they must be supposed to have collected from those obscure ages of antiquity, when history yields us such imperfect accounts of the residence, and much more imperfect of the travels, of the human race ; unless, perhaps, as a curious and learned member of the young society of Antiquarians is said to have hinted his conjectures, that their residence and their travels were one and the same ; and this discovery (for such it seems to be) he is said to have owed to the lighting by accident on a book, which we shall have occasion to mention pre-

sently, the contents of which were then little known to the society.

The King of Prussia, moreover, who, from a degree of benevolence and taste, which in either case is a rare production in so northern a climate, is the great encourager of art and science, I was well assured would promote so useful a design, and order his archives to be searched in my behalf.

But after well-weighing all these advantages, and much meditation on the order of my work, my whole design was subverted in a moment, by hearing of the discovery just mentioned to have been made by the young antiquarian, who, from the most ancient record in the world (though I don't find the society are all agreed in this point), one long preceding the date of the earliest modern collections, either of books or butterflies, none of which pretend to go beyond the flood, shews us, that the first man was a traveller, and that he and his family were scarce settled in Paradise before they disliked their own home, and became passengers to another place. Hence it appears, that the humour of travelling is as old as the human race, and that it was their curse from the beginning.

By this discovery my plan became much shortened, and I found it only necessary to treat of the conveyance of goods and passengers from place to place; which, not being universally known, seemed proper to be explained, before we examined into its original. There are, indeed, two different ways of tracing all things, used by the historian and the antiquary; these are, upwards and downwards. The former shews you how things are, and leaves to others to discover when they began to be so. The latter shews you how things were, and leaves their present existence to be examined by others. Hence the former is more useful; the latter more curious. The former receives the thanks of mankind; the latter of that valuable part, the virtuosi.

In explaining, therefore, this mystery of carrying goods and passengers from one place to another, hitherto so profound a secret to the very best of our readers, we shall pursue the historical method, and endeavour

deavour to shew by what means it is at present performed, referring the more curious enquirer either to some other pen, or to some other opportunity.

Now there are two general ways of performing (if God permit) this conveyance; *viz.* by land and water, both of which have much variety; that by land being performed in different vehicles, such as coaches, caravans, waggons, &c. and that by water in ships, barges and boats, of various sizes and denominations. But as all these methods of conveyance are formed on the same principles, they agree so well together, that it is fully sufficient to comprehend them all in the general view, without descending to such minute particulars as would distinguish one method from another.

Common to all of these is one general principle, that as the goods to be conveyed are usually the larger, so they are to be chiefly considered in the conveyance; the owner being indeed little more than an appendage to his trunk, or box, or bale, or at best a small part of his own baggage, very little care is to be taken in stowing or packing them up with convenience to himself: for the conveyance is not of passengers and goods, but of goods and passengers.

Secondly, From this conveyance arises a new kind of relation, or rather of subjection, in the society; by which the passenger becomes bound in allegiance to his conveyer. This allegiance is indeed only temporary and local, but the most absolute, during its continuance, of any known in Great Britain, and, to say truth, scarce consistent with the liberties of a free people; nor could it be reconciled with them, did it not move downwards, a circumstance universally apprehended to be incompatible to all kinds of slavery. For Aristotle, in his Politicks, hath proved abundantly to my satisfaction, that no men are born to be slaves, except barbarians; and these only to such as are not themselves barbarians: and indeed Mr Montesquieu hath carried it very little farther, in the case of the Africans; the real truth being, that no man is born to be a slave, unless to him who is able to make him so.

Thirdly, This subjection is absolute, and consists of a perfect resignation both of body and soul to the disposal of another ; after which resignation, during a certain time, his subject retains no more power over his own will, than an Asiatic slave, or an English wife, by the laws of both countries, and by the customs of one of them. If I should mention the instance of a stage-coachman, many of my readers would recognize the truth of what I have here observed ; all indeed, that ever have been under the dominion of that tyrant, who, in this free country, is as absolute as a Turkish Bathaw. In two particulars only his power is defective ; he cannot press you into his service ; and if you enter yourself at one place, on condition of being discharged at a certain time at another, he is obliged to perform his agreement, if God permit : but all the intermediate time you are absolutely under his government ; he carries you how he will, when he will, and whither he will, provided it be not much out of the road ; you have nothing to eat, or to drink, but what, and when, and where, he pleases. Nay, you cannot sleep, unless he pleases you should ; for he will order you sometimes out of bed at midnight, and hurry you away at a moment's warning : indeed, if you can sleep in his vehicle, he cannot prevent it ; nay, indeed, to give him his due, this he is ordinarily disposed to encourage ; for the earlier he forces you to rise in the morning, the more time he will give you in the heat of the day, sometimes even six hours at an alehouse, or at their doors, where he always gives you the same indulgence which he allows himself ; and for this he is generally very moderate in his demands. I have known a whole bundle of passengers charged no more than half a crown for being suffered to remain quiet at an alehouse door, for above a whole hour, and that even in the hottest day in summer.

But as this kind of tyranny, though it hath escaped our political writers, hath been, I think, touched by our dramatic, and is more trite among the generality of readers ; and as this and all other kinds of such subjection are alike unknown to my friends ; I will quit the
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the passengers by land, and treat of those who travel by water ; for whatever is said on this subject is applicable to both alike ; and we may bring them together as closely as they are brought in the liturgy, when they are recommended to the prayers of all Christian congregations ; and (which I have often thought very remarkable) where they are joined with other miserable wretches, such as, women in labour, people in sickness, infants just born, prisoners and captives.

Goods and passengers are conveyed by water in divers vehicles, the principal of which being a ship, it shall suffice to mention that alone. Here the tyrant doth not derive his title, as the stage-coach-man doth, from the vehicle itself, in which he stows his goods and passengers, but he is called the Captain : a word of such various use and uncertain signification, that it seems very difficult to fix any positive idea to it : if indeed, there be any general meaning which may comprehend all its different uses, that of the head, or chief, of any body of men, seems to be most capable of this comprehension ; for whether they be a company of soldiers, a crew of sailors, or a gang of rogues, he who is at the head of them is always styled the Captain.

The particular tyrant, whose fortune it was to stow us aboard, laid a farther claim to this appellation than the bare command of a vehicle of conveyance. He had been the captain of a privateer, which he chose to call being in the king's service, and thence derived a right of hoisting the military ornament of a cockade over the button of his hat. He likewise wore a sword of no ordinary length by his side, with which he swaggered in his cabin, among the wretches his passengers, whom he had stowed in cupboards on each side. He was a person of a very singular character. He had taken it into his head that he was a gentleman, from those very reasons that proved he was not one ; and to shew himself a fine gentleman, by a behaviour which seemed to insinuate he had never seen one. He was, moreover, a man of gallantry ; at the age of seventy, he had the finicalness of Sir Courtly Nice, with the roughness of Surly ; and while he was deaf himself, had a voice capable of deafening all others.

Now,

Now, as I saw myself in danger by the delays of the Captain, who was, in reality, waiting for more freight, and as the wind had been long nestled, as it were, in the south west, where it constantly blew hurricanes, I began with great reason to apprehend that our voyage might be long, and that my belly, which began already to be much extended, would require the water to be let out at a time when no assistance was at hand; though, indeed, the Captain comforted me with assurances, that he had a pretty young fellow on board, who acted as his surgeon, as I found he likewise did as steward, cook, butler, sailor. In short, he had as many offices as Scrub in the play, and went through them all with great dexterity; this of surgeon was, perhaps, the only one in which his skill was somewhat deficient, at least that branch of tapping for the dropsy; for he very ingenuously and modestly confessed, he had never seen the operation performed, nor was possessed of that chirurgical instrument with which it is performed.

Friday, June 28. By way of prevention, therefore, I this day sent for my friend Mr Hunter, the great surgeon and anatomist of Covent-garden; and, though my belly was not yet very full and tight, let out ten quarts of water; the young sea-surgeon attended the operation, not as a performer, but as a student.

I was now eased of the greatest apprehension which I had from the length of the passage; and I told the Captain, I was become indifferent as to the time of his sailing. He expressed much satisfaction in this declaration, and at hearing from me, that I found myself, since my tapping, much lighter and better. In this, I believe, he was sincere; for he was, as we shall have occasion to observe more than once, a very good-natured man; and as he was a very brave one too, I found that the heroic constancy, with which I had borne an operation that is attended with scarce any degree of pain, had not a little raised me in his esteem. That he might adhere, therefore, in the most religious and rigorous manner to his word, when he had no longer any temptation from interest

to break it, as he had no longer any hopes of more goods or passengers, he ordered his ship to fall down to Gravesend on Sunday morning, and there to wait his arrival.

Sunday, June 30. Nothing worth notice passed till that morning, when my poor wife, after passing a night in the utmost torments of the tooth-ach, resolved to have it drawn. I dispatched, therefore, a servant into Wapping, to bring, in haste, the best tooth-drawer he could find. He soon found out a female of great eminence in the art; but when he brought her to the boat, at the water-side, they were informed that the ship was gone; for, indeed, she had set out a few minutes after his quitting her; nor did the pilot, who well knew the errand on which I had sent my servant, think fit to wait a moment for his return, or to give me any notice of his setting out, though I had, very patiently, attended the delays of the Captain four days, after many solemn promises of weighing anchor every one of the three last.

But all the petty bashaws, or turbulent tyrants I ever beheld, this four-faced pilot was the worst tempered; for, during the time that he had the guidance of the ship, which was till we arrived in the Downs, he complied with no one's desires, nor did he give a civil word, or indeed a civil look, to any on board.

The tooth-drawer, who, as I said before, was one of great eminence among her neighbours, refused to follow the ship; so that my man made himself the best of his way, and, with some difficulty, came up with us before we were got under full sail; for, after that, as we had both wind and tide with us, he would have found it impossible to overtake the ship, till she was come to an anchor at Gravesend.

The morning was fair and bright, and we had a passage thither, I think, as pleasant as can be conceived; for, take it with all its advantages, particularly the number of fine ships you are always sure of seeing by the way, there is nothing to equal it in all the rivers of the world. The yards of Deptford and of Woolwich are noble sights; and give us a just idea of the great perfection to which we are arrived in building

building those floating castles, and the figure which we may always make in Europe among the other maritime powers. That of Woolwich, at least, very strongly imprinted this idea on my mind; for there was now on the stocks there the Royal Anne, supposed to be the largest ship ever built, and which contains ten carriage guns more than had ever yet equipped a first rate.

It is true, perhaps, that there is more of ostentation than of real utility, in ships of this vast and undwieldy burthen, which are rarely capable of acting against an enemy: but if the building such contributes to preserve, among other nations, the notion of the British superiority in naval affairs, the expence, though very great, is well incurred, and the ostentation is laudable and truly political. Indeed, I should be sorry to allow that Holland, France, or Spain, possessed a vessel larger and more beautiful than the largest and most beautiful of ours; for this honour I would always administer to the pride of our sailors, who should challenge it from all their neighbours with truth and success. And sure I am, that not our honest tars alone, but every inhabitant of this island, may exult in the comparison, when he considers the King of Great-Britain as a maritime prince, in opposition to any other prince in Europe; but I am not so certain that the same idea of superiority will result from comparing our land-forces with those of many other crowned heads. In numbers, they all far exceed us; and in the goodness and splendor of their troops, many nations, particularly the Germans and French, and perhaps the Dutch, cast us at a distance; for, however we may flatter ourselves with the Edwards and Henrys of former ages, the change of the whole art of war since those days, by which the advantage of personal strength is, in a manner, entirely lost, hath produced a change in military affairs to the advantage of our enemies. As for our successes in later days, if they were not entirely owing to the superior genius of our general, they were not a little due to the superior force of his money. Indeed, if we should arraign Marshal Saxe of ostentation, when he shewed his army drawn

drawn up, to our captive general, the day after the battle of La Val, we cannot say that the ostentation was entirely vain: since he certainly shewed him an army, which had not been often equalled, either in the number or goodness of the troops, and which, in those respects, so far exceeded ours, that none can ever cast any reflexion on the brave young prince who could not reap the laurels of conquest in that day; but his retreat will be always mentioned as an addition to his glory.

In our marine, the case is entirely the reverse, and it must be our own fault if it doth not continue so; for continue so it will, as long as the flourishing state of our trade shall support it; and this support it can never want, till our legislature shall cease to give sufficient attention to the protection of our trade, and our magistrates want sufficient power, ability, and honesty, to execute the laws: a circumstance not to be apprehended, as it cannot happen, till our senates and our benches shall be filled with the blindest ignorance, or with the blackest corruption.

Besides the ships in the docks, we saw many on the water: the yachts are sights of great parade, and the king's body-yacht is, I believe, unequalled in any country, for convenience as well as magnificence; both which are consulted in building and equipping her with the most exquisite art and workmanship.

We saw likewise several Indiamen just returned from their voyage. These are, I believe, the largest and finest vessels which are any where employed in commercial affairs. The colliers, likewise, which are very numerous, and even assemble in fleets, are ships of great bulk; and, if we descend to those used in the American, African, and European trades, and pass through those which visit our own coasts, to the small craft that ly between Chatham and the Tower, the whole forms a most pleasing object to the eye, as well as highly warming to the heart of an Englishman, who has any degree of love for his country, or can recognize any effect of the patriot in his constitution.

Lastly, The Royal Hospital of Greenwich, which presents so delightful a front to the water, and doth
such

such honour at once to its builder and the nation, to the great skill and ingenuity of the one, and to the no less sensible gratitude of the other, very properly closes the account of this scene; which may well appear romantic to those who have not themselves seen, that, in this one instance, truth and reality are capable, perhaps, of exceeding the power of fiction.

When we had passed by Greenwich, we saw only two or three gentlemen's houses, all of very moderate account, till we reached Gravesend; these are all on the Kentish shore, which affords a much drier, wholesomer and pleasanter situation than doth that of its opposite, Essex. This circumstance, I own, is somewhat surprising to me, when I reflect on the numerous villas that crowd the river, from Chelsea upwards as far as Shepperton, where the narrower channel affords not half so noble a prospect, and where the continual succession of the small craft, like the frequent repetition of all things which have nothing in them great, beautiful, or admirable, tire the eye, and give us distaste and aversion instead of pleasure. With some of these situations, such as Barnes, Mortlake, &c. even the shore of Essex might contend, not upon very unequal terms; but on the Kentish borders, there are many spots to be chosen by the builder, which might justly claim the preference over almost the very finest of those in Middlesex and Surrey.

How shall we account for this depravity in taste? for, surely, there are none so very mean and contemptible, as to bring the pleasure of seeing a number of little wherries, gliding along after one another, in competition with what we enjoy, in viewing a succession of ships, with all their sails expanded to the winds, bounding over the waves before us.

And here I cannot pass by another observation on the deplorable want of taste in our enjoyments, which we shew by almost totally neglecting the pursuit of what seems to me the highest degree of amusement: this is, the sailing ourselves in little vessels of our own, contrived only for our ease and accommodation, to which such situations of our villas, as I have re-

commended, would be so convenient and even necessary.

This amusement, I confess, if enjoyed in any perfection, would be of the expensive kind; but such expence would not exceed the reach of a moderate fortune, and would fall very short of the prices which are daily paid for pleasures of a far inferior rate. The truth, I believe, is, that sailing in the manner I have just mentioned, is a pleasure rather unknown, or unthought of, than rejected by those who have experienced it; unless, perhaps, the apprehension of danger, or sea-sickness, may be supposed, by the timorous and delicate, to make too large deductions; insisting, that all their enjoyments shall come to them pure and unmixed, and being ever ready to cry out,

—*Nocet empty dolore voluptas.*

This, however, was my present case; for the ease and lightness which I felt from my tapping, the gaiety of the morning, the pleasant sailing with wind and tide, and the many agreeable objects with which I was constantly entertained during the whole way, were all suppressed and overcome by the single consideration of my wife's pain, which continued incessantly to torment her till we came to an anchor, when I dispatched a messenger in great haste, for the best-reputed operator in Gravesend. A surgeon of some eminence now appeared, who did not decline tooth-drawing, though he certainly would have been offended with the appellation of tooth-drawer, no less than his brethren, the members of that venerable body, would be with that of barber, since the late separation between those long-united companies, by which, if the surgeons have gained much, the barbers are supposed to have lost very little.

This able and careful person (for so I sincerely believe he is) after examining the guilty tooth, declared, that it was such a rotten shell, and so placed at the very remotest end of the upper jaw, where it was, in a manner, covered and secured by a large, fine, firm tooth, that he despaired of his power of drawing it.

He said, indeed, more to my wife, and used more rhetoric to dissuade her from having it drawn, than is generally employed to persuade young ladies to prefer a pain of three moments to one of three months continuance; especially, if those young ladies happen to be past forty and five years of age, when, by submitting to support a racking torment, the only good circumstance attending which is, 'tis so short, that scarce one in a thousand can cry out, 'I feel it,' they are to do a violence to their charms, and lose one of those beautiful holders, with which alone Sir Courtly Nice declares, a lady can ever lay hold of his heart.

He said at last so much, and seemed to reason so justly, that I came over to his side, and assisted him in prevailing on my wife (for it was no easy matter) to resolve on keeping her tooth a little longer, and to apply to palliatives only for relief. These were opium applied to the tooth, and blisters behind the ears.

Whilst we were at dinner this day, in the cabin, on a sudden the window on one side was beat into the room, with a crash, as if a twenty-pounder had been discharged among us. We were all alarmed at the suddenness of the accident, for which, however, we were soon able to account: for the sash, which was shivered all to pieces, was pursued into the middle of the cabin by the bowsprit of a little ship, called a cod-snack, the master of which made us amends for running (carelessly at best) against us, and injuring the ship, in the sea-way; that is to say, by damning us all to hell, and uttering several pious wishes that it had done us much more mischief. All which were answered in their own kind and phrase by our men; between whom and the other crew a dialogue of oaths and scurrility was carried on, as long as they continued in each other's hearing.

It is difficult, I think, to assign a satisfactory reason why sailors in general should, of all others, think themselves entirely discharged from the common bands of humanity, and should seem to glory in the language and behaviour of savages. They see more of the world, and have, most of them, a more erudite education,

cation, than is the portion of landmen of their degree. Nor do I believe that in any country they visit (Holland itself not excepted) they can ever find a parallel to what daily passes on the river Thames. Is it that they think true courage (for they are the bravest fellows upon earth) inconsistent with all the gentleness of a humane carriage; and that the contempt of civil order springs up in minds but little cultivated, at the same time, and from the same principles, with the contempt of danger and death? Is it——? In short, it is so; and how it comes to be so, I leave to form a question in the Robin Hood society, or to be propounded for solution among the enigmas in the Woman's Almanack for the next year.

Monday, July 1. This day Mr Welch took his leave of me after dinner, as did a young lady of her sister, who was proceeding with my wife to Lisbon. They both set out together in a post-chaise for London.

Soon after their departure, our cabin, where my wife and I were sitting together, was visited by two ruffians, whose appearance greatly corresponded with that of the sheriffs, or rather the knight-marshal's bailiffs. One of these especially, who seemed to affect a more than ordinary degree of rudeness and insolence, came in without any kind of ceremony, with a broad gold-lace on his hat, which was cocked with much military fierceness on his head. An inkhorn at his button-hole, and some papers in his hand, sufficiently assured me what he was, and I asked him if he and his companion were not customhouse-officers; he answered with sufficient dignity, that they were, as an information which he seemed to conclude would strike the hearer with awe, and suppress all further enquiry: but, on the contrary, I proceeded to ask of what rank he was in the customhouse, and receiving an answer from his companion, as I remember, that the gentleman was a riding surveyor; I replied, that he might be a riding surveyor, but could be no gentleman, for that none who had any title to that denomination, would break into the presence of a lady, without any apology, or even moving his hat. He then took his covering from his head, and laid it

on the table, saying, he asked pardon, and blamed the mate, who should, he said, have informed him if any persons of distinction were below. I told him, he might guess by our appearance (which, perhaps, was rather more than could be said with the strictest adherence to truth) that he was before a gentleman and lady, which should teach him to be very civil in his behaviour, though he should not happen to be of that number whom the world calls people of fashion and distinction. However, I said, that as he seemed sensible of his error, and had asked pardon, the lady would permit him to put his hat on again, if he chose it. This he refused with some degree of surliness, and failed not to convince me that, if I should condescend to become more gentle, he would soon grow more rude.

I now renewed a reflexion, which I have often seen occasion to make, that there is nothing so incongruous in nature as any kind of power, with lowness of mind and of ability; and that there is nothing more deplorable than the want of truth in the whiriscical notion of Plato; who tells us that ‘ Saturn, well knowing
 ‘ the state of human affairs, gave us kings and rulers,
 ‘ not of human, but divine original. For as we make
 ‘ not shepherds of sheep, nor oxherds of oxen, nor
 ‘ goatherds of goats; but place some of our own kind
 ‘ over all, as being better and fitter to govern them:
 ‘ in the same manner, were demons, by the Divine
 ‘ Love, set over us, as a race of beings of a superior
 ‘ order to men, and who, with great ease to themselves, might regulate our affairs, and establish
 ‘ peace, modesty, freedom, and justice, and totally
 ‘ destroying all sedition, might complete the happiness of the human race. So far, at least, may even
 ‘ now be said with truth, that in all states which are
 ‘ under the government of mere man, without any
 ‘ divine assistance, there is nothing but labour and
 ‘ misery to be found. From what I have said therefore, we may at least learn, with our utmost endeavours, to imitate the Saturnian institution; borrowing all assistance from our immortal part, while we
 ‘ pay to this the strictest obedience, we should form
 ‘ both

‘ both our private œconomy, and public policy,
 ‘ from its dictates. By this dispensation of our im-
 ‘ mortal minds, we are to establish a law, and to call
 ‘ it by that name. But if any government be in the
 ‘ hands of a single person, of the few, or of the ma-
 ‘ ny; and such governor or governors shall abandon
 ‘ himself or themselves to the unbridled pursuit of
 ‘ the wildest pleasures or desires, unable to restrain
 ‘ any passion, but possessed with an insatiable bad
 ‘ disease; if such shall attempt to govern, and at the
 ‘ same time to trample on all laws, there can be no
 ‘ means of preservation left for the wretched people.’
 Plato de Leg. lib. iv. p. 713, 714. edit. Serrani.

It is true that Plato is here treating of the highest degree of sovereign power in a state; but it is as true, that his observations are general, and may be applied to all inferior powers: and, indeed, every subordinate degree is immediately derived from the highest; and as it is equally protected by the same force, and sanctified by the same authority, is alike dangerous to the well-being of the subject.

Of all powers, perhaps, there is none so sanctified and protected, as this which is under our present consideration. So numerous, indeed, and strong are the sanctions given to it by many acts of parliament, that, having once established the laws of customs on merchandize, it seems to have been the sole view of the legislature to strengthen the hands, and protect the persons, of the officers, who became established by those laws; many of whom are so far from bearing any resemblance to the Saturnian institution, and to be chosen from a degree of beings superior to the rest of the human race, that they sometimes seem in lustriously picked out of the lowest and vilest orders of mankind.

There is, indeed, nothing so useful to man in general, nor so beneficial to particular societies and individuals, as trade. This is that *alma mater*, at whose plentiful breast all mankind are nourished. It is true, like other parents, she is not always equally indulgent to all her children; but though she gives to her favourites a vast proportion of redundancy and superfluity, there are very few whom she refuses to supply

with the conveniences, and none with the necessities of life.

Such a benefactress as this must naturally be beloved by mankind in general; it would be wonderful, therefore, if her interest was not considered by them, and protected from the fraud and violence of some of her rebellious offspring, who, coveting more than their share, or more than she thinks proper to allow them, are daily employed in meditating mischief against her, and in endeavouring to steal from their brethren those shares which this great *alma mater* had allowed them.

At length our governor came on board, and about six in the evening we weighed anchor, and fell down to the Nore, whither our passage was extremely pleasant, the evening being very delightful, the moon just past the full, and both wind and tide favourable to us.

Tuesday, July 2. This morning we again set sail, under all the advantages we had enjoyed the evening before: this day we left the shore of Essex, and coasted along Kent, passing by the pleasant island of Thanet, which is an island, and that of Sheppy, which is not an island; and about three o'clock, the wind being now full in our teeth, we came to an anchor in the downs, within two miles of Deal. My wife having suffered intolerable pain from her tooth, again renewed her resolution of having it drawn; and another surgeon was sent for from Deal, but with no better success than the former. He likewise declined the operation, for the same reason which had been assigned by the former: however, such was her resolution, backed with pain, that he was obliged to make the attempt, which concluded more in honour of his judgment, than of his operation; for after having put my poor wife to inexpressible torment, he was obliged to leave her tooth *in statu quo*; and she had now the comfortable prospect of a long fit of pain, which might have lasted her whole voyage, without any possibility of relief.

In these pleasing sensations, of which I had my just share, nature, overcome with fatigue, about eight

in the evening, resigned her to rest; a circumstance which would have given me some happiness, could I have known how to employ those spirits which were raised by it: but unfortunately for me, I was left in a disposition of enjoying an agreeable hour, without the assistance of a companion, which has always appeared to me necessary to such enjoyment; my daughter and her companion were both retired sea-sick to bed; the other passengers were a rude school-boy of fourteen years old, and an illiterate Portuguese friar, who understood no language but his own, in which I had not the least smattering. The Captain was the only person left, in whose conversation I might indulge myself; but unluckily, besides a total ignorance of every thing in the world but a ship, he had the misfortune of being so deaf, that to make him hear, I will not say understand, my words, I must run the risque of conveying them to the ears of my wife, who, though in another room (called, I think, the state-room; being indeed a most stately apartment capable of containing one human body in length, if not very tall, and three bodies in breadth) lay asleep within a yard of me. In this situation, necessity and choice were one and the same thing; the Captain and I sat down together to a small bowl of punch, over which we both soon fell fast asleep, and so concluded the evening.

Wednesday, July 3. This morning I awaked at four o'clock, for my distemper seldom suffered me to sleep later. I presently got up, and had the pleasure of enjoying the sight of a tempestuous sea for four hours before the Captain was stirring; for he loved to indulge himself in morning slumbers, which were attended with a wind music, much more agreeable to the performers than to the hearers, especially such as have, as I had, the privilege of sitting in the orchestra. At eight o'clock the Captain rose, and sent his boat on shore. I ordered my man likewise to go in it; as my distemper was not of that kind which entirely deprives us of appetite. Now, though the Captain had well victualled his ship with all manner of salt provisions for the voyage, and had added great quantities

quantities of fresh stores, particularly of vegetables, at Gravesend, such as beans and peas, which had been on board only two days, and had, possibly, not been gathered above two more, I apprehended I could provide better for myself at Deal, than the ship's ordinary seemed to promise. I accordingly sent for fresh provisions of all kinds from the shore, in order to put off the evil day of starving as long as possible. My man returned with most of the articles I sent for, and I now thought myself in a condition of living a week on my own provisions. I therefore ordered my own dinner, which I wanted nothing but a cook to dress, and a proper fire to dress it at; but those were not to be had, nor indeed any addition to my roast mutton except the pleasure of the Captain's company, with that of the other passengers; for my wife continued the whole day in a state of dozing, and my other females, whose sickness did not abate by the rolling of the ship at anchor, seemed more inclined to empty their stomachs than to fill them. Thus I passed the whole day (except about an hour at dinner) by myself, and the evening concluded with the Captain as the preceding one had done. One comfortable piece of news he communicated to me, which was that he had no doubt of a prosperous wind in the morning; but as he did not divulge the reasons of this confidence, and as I saw none myself besides the wind being directly opposite, my faith in this prophecy was not strong enough to build any great hopes upon.

Thursday, July 4. This morning, however, the Captain seemed resolved to fulfill his own predictions, whether the wind would or no; he accordingly weighed anchor, and taking the advantage of the tide, when the wind was not very boisterous, he hoisted his sails, and, as if his power had been no less absolute over Eolus than it was over Neptune, he forced the wind to blow him on in its own despatch.

But as all men who have ever been at sea, well know how weak such attempts are, and want no authorities of Scripture to prove, that the most absolute power of a captain of a ship is very contemptible in the wind's eye, so did it befall our noble commander;
who

who having struggled with the wind three or four hours, was obliged to give over, and lost, in a few minutes, all that he had been so long a gaining; in short, we returned to our former station, and once more cast anchor in the neighbourhood of Deal.

Here, though we lay near the shore, that we might promise ourselves all the emolument which could be derived from it, we found ourselves deceived; and that we might with as much conveniency be out of the sight of land; for, except when the Captain launched forth his own boat, which he did always with great reluctance, we were incapable of procuring any thing from Deal, but at a price too exorbitant, and beyond the reach even of modern luxury; the fare of a boat from Deal, which lay at two miles distance, being at least three half crowns, and if we had been in any distress for it, as many half guineas; for these good people consider the sea as a large common, appendant to their manor, in which when they find any of their fellow creatures impounded, they conclude, that they have a full right of making them pay at their own discretion for their deliverance. To say the truth, whether it be that men who live on the sea shore are of an amphibious kind, and do not entirely partake of human nature, or whatever else may be the reason, they are so far from taking any share in the distresses of mankind, or of being moved with any compassion for them, that they look upon them as blessings showered down from above; and which the more they improve to their own use, the greater is their gratitude and piety. Thus at Gravesend, a sculler requires a shilling for going less way than he would row in London for three pence; and, at Deal, a boat often brings more profit in a day, than it can produce in London in a week, or, perhaps, in a month; in both places, the owner of the boat founds his demand on the necessity and distress of one, who stands more or less in absolute want of his assistance; and with the urgency of these, always rises in the exorbitancy of his demand, without ever considering, that, from these very circumstances, the power or ease of gratifying such demand is in like proportion

proportion lessened. Now, as I am unwilling that some conclusions, which may be, I am aware, too justly drawn from these observations, should be imputed to human nature in general, I have endeavoured to account for them in a way more consistent with the goodness and dignity of that nature: however it be, it seems a little to reflect on the governors of such monsters, that they do not take some means to restrain these impositions, and prevent them from triumphing any longer in the miseries of those, who are, in many circumstances at least, their fellow-creatures, and considering the distresses of a wretched seaman, from his being wrecked to his being barely windbound, as a blessing sent among them from above, and calling it by that blasphemous name.

Friday, July 5. This day I sent a servant on board a man of war, that was stationed here, with my compliments to the Captain, to represent to him the distress of the ladies, and to desire the favour of his long-boat to conduct us to Dover, at about seven miles distance; and, at the same time, presumed to make use of a great lady's name, the wife of the first lord commissioner of the admiralty; who would, I told him, be pleased with any kindness shewn by him towards us in our miserable condition. And this I am convinced was true, from the humanity of the lady, though she was entirely unknown to me.

The Captain returned a verbal answer to a long letter; acquainting me, that what I desired could not be complied with, it being a favour not in his power to grant. This might be, and I suppose was, true; but it was as true, that if he was able to write, and had pen, ink, and paper aboard, he might have sent a written answer, and that it was the part of a gentleman so to have done; but this is a character seldom maintained on the watery element, especially by those who exercise any power on it. Every commander of a vessel here seems to think himself entirely free from all those rules of decency and civility, which direct and restrain the conduct of the members of a society on shore; and each, claiming absolute dominion in his little wooden world, rules by his own laws

laws and his own discretion. I do not, indeed, know so pregnant an instance of the dangerous consequences of absolute power, and its aptness to intoxicate the mind, as that of those petty tyrants, who become such in a moment, from very well-disposed and social members of that communion, in which they affect no superiority, but live in an orderly state of legal subjection with their fellow-citizens.

Saturday, July 6. This morning our commander, declaring he was sure the wind would change, took the advantage of an ebbing tide, and weighed his anchor. His assurance, however, had the same completion; and his endeavours the same success, with his former trial; and he was soon obliged to return once more to his old quarters. Just before we let go our anchor, a small sloop, rather than submit to yield us an inch of way, ran foul of our ship, and carried off her bowsprit. This obstinate frolic would have cost those aboard the sloop very dear, if our steersman had not been too generous to exert his superiority, the certain consequence of which would have been the immediate sinking of the other. This contention of the inferior with a might capable of crushing it in an instant, may seem to argue no small share of folly or madness, as well as of impudence; but I am convinced there is very little danger in it: contempt is a port to which the pride of man submits to fly with reluctance, but those who are within it are always in a place of the most assured security; for whoever throws away his sword, prefers, indeed, a less honourable, but much safer means of avoiding danger, than he who defends himself with it. And here we shall offer another distinction, of the truth of which much reading and experience have well convinced us, that as in the most absolute governments, there is a regular progression of slavery downwards, from the top to the bottom, the mischief of which is seldom felt with any great force and bitterness, but by the next immediate degree; so in the most dissolute and anarchial states, there is as regular an ascent of what is called rank or condition, which is always laying hold of the heel of him, who is advanced

vanced but one step higher on the ladder, who might, if he did not too much despise such efforts, kick his pursuer head-long to the bottom. We will conclude this digression with one general and short observation, which will, perhaps, set the whole matter in a clearer light than the longest and most laboured harangue. Whereas envy of all things most exposes us to danger from others; so, contempt of all things best secures us from them. And thus, while the dung-cart and the sloop are always meditating mischief against the coach and the ship, and throwing themselves designedly in their way, the latter consider only their own security, and are not ashamed to break the road, and let the other pass by them.

Monday, July 8. Having passed our Sunday without any thing remarkable, unless the catching a great number of whittings in the afternoon may be thought so; we now set sail on Monday at six o'clock, with a little variation of wind; but this was so very little, and the breeze itself so small, that the tide was our best, and indeed almost our only friend. This conducted us along the short remainder of the Kentish shore. Here we past that cliff of Dover, which makes so tremendous a figure in Shakespear, and which whoever reads without being giddy must, according to Mr Addison's observation, have either a very good head, or a very bad one; but which whoever contracts any such ideas from the sight of must have, at least a poetic, if not a Shakespearian genius. In truth, mountains, rivers, heroes, and gods, owe great part of their existence to the poets; and Greece and Italy do so plentifully abound in the former, because they furnished so glorious a number of the latter; who, while they bestowed immortality on every little hillock and blind stream, left the noblest rivers and mountains in the world to share the same obscurity with the eastern and western poets, in which they are celebrated.

This evening we beat the sea off Sussex, in sight of Dungeness, with much more pleasure than progress; for the weather was almost a perfect calm, and the moon,

moon, which was almost at the full, scarce suffered a single cloud to veil her from our sight.

Tuesday, Wednesday, July 9, 10. These two days we had much the same fine weather, and made much the same way; but in the evening of the latter day a pretty fresh gale sprung up, at N. N. W. which brought us by the morning in sight of the Isle of Wight.

Thursday, July 11. This gale continued till towards noon; when the east end of the island bore but little a-head of us. The Captain swaggered, and declared he would keep the sea; but the wind got the better of him, so that about three he gave up the victory, and, making a sudden tack, stood in for the shore, passed by Spithead and Portsmouth, and came to an anchor at a place called Ryde on the island.

A most tragical incident fell out this day at sea. While the ship was under sail, but making, as will appear, no great way, a kitten, one of four of the feline inhabitants of the cabin, fell from the window into the water: an alarm was immediately given to the Captain, who was then upon deck, and received it with the utmost concern and many bitter oaths. He immediately gave orders to the steerfinan in favour of the poor thing, as he called it, the sails were instantly slackened, and all hands, as the phrase is, employed to recover the poor animal. I was, I own, extremely surprised at all this; less, indeed, at the Captain's extreme tenderness, than at his conceiving any possibility of success; for, if Puss had had nine thousand, instead of nine lives, I concluded they had been all lost. The boatswain, however, had more sanguine hopes; for, having stripped himself of his jacket, breeches, and shirt, he leapt boldly into the water, and, to my great astonishment, in a few minutes, returned to the ship, bearing the motionless animal in his mouth. Nor was this, I observed, a matter of such great difficulty as it appeared to my ignorance, and possibly may seem to that of my fresh-water reader: the kitten was now exposed to air and sun on the deck, where its life, of which it retained no symptoms, was despaired of by all.

The Captain's humanity, if I may so call it, did not so totally destroy his philosophy, as to make him yield himself up to affliction on this melancholy occasion. Having felt his loss like a man, he resolved to shew he could bear it like one; and having declared he had rather have lost a cask of rum or brandy, betook himself to threshing at back-gammon with the Portuguese friar, in which innocent amusement they had passed about two thirds of their time.

But as I have, perhaps, a little too wantonly endeavoured to raise the tender passions of my readers, in this narrative, I should think myself unpardonable if I concluded it, without giving them the satisfaction of hearing that the kitten at last recovered, to the great joy of the good Captain; but to the great disappointment of some of the sailors, who asserted that the drowning a cat was the very surest way of raising a favourable wind: a supposition of which, though we have heard several plausible accounts, we will not presume to assign the true original reason.

Friday, July 12. This day our ladies went ashore at Ryde, and drank their afternoon tea at an alehouse there with great satisfaction: here they were regaled with fresh cream, to which they had been strangers since they left the Downs.

Saturday, July 13. The wind seeming likely to continue in the same corner, where it had been almost constantly for two months together, I was persuaded by my wife to go ashore, and stay at Ryde till we sailed. I approved the motion much: for though I am a great lover of the sea, I now fancied there was more pleasure in breathing the fresh air of the land; but, how to get thither was the question: for, being really that dead luggage, which I considered all passengers to be in the beginning of this narrative, and incapable of any bodily motion without external impulse, it was in vain to leave the ship, or to determine to do it, without the assistance of others. In one instance, perhaps, the living luggage is more difficult to be moved, or removed, than an equal or much superior weight of dead matter; which, if of the brittle kind, may indeed be liable to be broken through

through negligence ; but this, by proper care, may be almost certainly prevented ; whereas, the fractures to which the living lumps are exposed, are sometimes by no caution avoidable, and often by no art to be amended.

I was deliberating on the means of conveyance, not so much out of the ship to the boat, as out of a little tottering boat to the land ; a matter which, as I had already experienced in the Thames, was not extremely easy, when to be performed by any other limbs than your own. Whilst I weighed all that could suggest itself on this head, without strictly examining the merit of the several schemes which were advanced by the Captain and sailors, and, indeed, giving no very deep attention even to my wife, who, as well as her friend and my daughter, were exerting their tender concern for my ease and safety ; Fortune, for I am convinced she had a hand in it, sent me a present of a buck ; a present, welcome enough of itself, but more welcome on account of the vessel in which it came, being a large hoy, which in some places would pass for a ship, and many people would go some miles to see the sight. I was pretty easily conveyed on board this hoy, but to get from hence to the shore was not so easy a task ; for however strange it may appear, the water itself did not extend so far ; an instance which seems to explain those lines of Ovid,

Omnia Pontus erant, deerant quoque littora Ponto,

in a less tautological sense, than hath generally been imputed to them.

In fact, between the sea and the shore, there was, at low water, an impassable gulph, if I may so call it, of deep mud, which could neither be traversed by walking nor swimming ; so that for near one half of the twenty-four hours, Ryde was inaccessible by friend or foe. But as the magistrates of this place seemed more to desire the company of the former than to fear that of the latter, they had begun to make a small causeway to the low-water mark, so that foot-passengers might land whenever they pleased ;

but as this work was of a public kind, and would have cost a large sum of money, at least ten pounds, and the magistrates, that is to say, the church-wardens, the overseers, constable and tithingman, and the principal inhabitants, had every one of them some separate scheme of private interest to advance at the expence of the public, they fell out among themselves; and after having thrown away one half of the requisite sum, resolved at least to save the other half, and rather be contented to sit down losers themselves, than to enjoy any benefit which might bring in a greater profit to another. Thus that unanimity, which is so necessary in all public affairs, became wanting; and every man, from the fear of being a bubble to another, was, in reality, a bubble to himself.

However, as there is scarce any difficulty, to which the strength of man, assisted with the cunning of art, is not equal, I was at last hoisted into a small boat, and being rowed pretty near the shore, was taken up by two sailors, who waded with me through the mud, and placed me in a chair on the land, whence they afterwards conveyed me a quarter of a mile farther, and brought me to a house, which seemed to bid the fairest for hospitality of any in Ryde.

We brought with us our provisions from the ship, so that we wanted nothing but a fire to dress our dinner, and a room in which we might eat it. In neither of these had we any reason to apprehend a disappointment, our dinner consisting only of beans and bacon; and the worst apartment in his Majesty's dominions, either at home or abroad, being fully sufficient to answer our present ideas of delicacy.

Unluckily, however, we were disappointed in both; for when we arrived about four at our inn, exulting in the hopes of immediately seeing our beans smoking on the table, we had the mortification of seeing them on the table indeed, but without that circumstance which would have made the sight agreeable, being in the same state in which we had dispatched them from our ship.

In

In excuse for this delay, though we had exceeded, almost purposely, the time appointed, and our provision had arrived three hours before, the mistress of the house acquainted us, that it was not for want of time to dress them that they were not ready, but for fear of their being cold or overdone before we should come; which, she assured us, was much worse than waiting a few minutes for our dinner: an observation so very just, that it is impossible to find any objection in it; but, indeed, it was not altogether so proper at this time: for we had given the most absolute orders to have them ready at four, and had been ourselves, not without much care and difficulty, most exactly punctual in keeping to the very minute of our appointment. But tradesmen, inn-keepers, and servants, never care to indulge us in matters contrary to our true interest, which they always know better than ourselves; nor can any bribes corrupt them to go out of their way, whilst they are consulting our good in our own despatch.

Our disappointment in the other particular, in defiance of our humility, as it was more extraordinary, was more provoking. In short, Mrs Francis (for that was the name of the good woman of the house) no sooner received the news of our intended arrival, than she considered more the gentility than the humanity of her guests, and applied herself not to that which kindles, but to that which extinguishes fire, and, forgetting to put on her pot, fell to washing her house.

As the messenger who had brought my venison was impatient to be dispatched, I ordered it to be brought and laid on the table, in the room where I was seated; and the table not being large enough, one side, and that a very bloody one, was laid on the brick floor. I then ordered Mrs Francis to be called in, in order to give her instructions concerning it; in particular, what I would have roasted, and what baked; concluding that she would be highly pleased with the prospect of so much money being spent in her house, as she might have now reason to expect, if the wind continued only a few days longer to blow

from the same points whence it had blown for several weeks past.

I soon saw good cause, I must confess, to despise my own sagacity. Mrs Francis, having received her orders, without making any answer, snatched the side from the floor, which remained stained with blood, and bidding a servant to take up that on the table, left the room with no pleasant countenance, muttering to herself, that had ' she known the litter which was ' to have been made, she would not have taken such ' pains to wash her house that morning. If this was ' gentility, much good may it do such gentlefolks ; ' for her part, she had no notion of it.'

From these murmurs, I received two hints. The one, that it was not from a mistake of our inclination that the good woman had starved us, but from wisely consulting her own dignity, or rather perhaps her vanity, to which our hunger was offered up as a sacrifice. The other, that I was now sitting in a damp room ; a circumstance, though it had hitherto escaped my notice, from the colour of the bricks, which was by no means to be neglected in a valetudinary state.

My wife, who, besides discharging excellently well her own, and all the tender offices becoming the female character ; who, besides being a faithful friend, an amiable companion, and a tender nurse, could likewise supply the wants of a decrepid husband, and occasionally perform his part, had, before this, discovered the immoderate attention to neatness in Mrs Francis, and provided against its ill consequences. She had found, though not under the same roof, a very snug apartment belonging to Mr Francis, and which had escaped the mop by his wife's being satisfied it could not possibly be visited by gentlefolks.

This was a dry, warm, oaken-floored barn, lined on both sides with wheaten straw, and opening at one end into a green field, and a beautiful prospect. Here, without hesitation, she ordered the cloth to be laid, and came hastily to snatch me from worse perils by water than the common dangers of the sea.

Mrs Francis, who could not trust her own ears, or could not believe the footman in so extraordinary a phenomenon,

phænomenon, followed my wife, and asked her if she had indeed ordered the cloth to be laid in the barn : she answered in the affirmative ; upon which Mrs Francis declared she would not dispute her pleasure, but it was the first time, she believed, that quality had ever preferred a barn to a house. She shewed at the same time the most pregnant marks of contempt, and again lamented the labour she had undergone, through her ignorance of the absurd taste of her guests.

At length we were seated in one of the most pleasant spots, I believe, in the kingdom, and were regaled with our beans and bacon, in which there was nothing deficient but the quantity. The defect was, however, so deplorable, that we had consumed our whole dish before we had visibly lessened our hunger. We now waited with impatience the arrival of our second course, which necessity and not luxury had dictated. This was a joint of mutton, which Mrs Francis had been ordered to provide ; but when, being tired with expectation, we ordered our servants *to see for something else*, we were informed that there was nothing else ; on which Mrs Francis being summoned, declared there was no such thing as mutton to be had at Ryde. When I expressed some astonishment at their having no butcher in a village so situated, she answered, they had a very good one, and one that killed all sorts of meat in season, beef two or three times a-year, and mutton the whole year round ; but that it being then beans and pease time, he killed no meat, by reason he was sure of not selling it. This she had not thought worthy of communication, any more than that there lived a fisherman at next door, who was then provided with plenty of soals, and whittings, and lobsters, far superior to those which adorn a city-feast. This discovery being made by accident, we completed the best, the pleasanter, and the merriest meal, with more appetite, more real, solid luxury, and more festivity, than was ever seen in any entertainment at White's.

It may be wondered at, perhaps, that Mrs Francis should be so negligent of providing for her guests, as she may seem to be thus inattentive to her own interest :

terest : but this was not the case ; for having clapt a poll-tax on our heads at our arrival, and determined at what price to discharge our bodies from her house, the less she suffered any other to share in the levy, the clearer it came into her own pocket ; and that it was better to get twelve-pence in a shilling than ten-pence, which latter would be the case if she afforded us fish at any rate.

Thus we past a most agreeable day, owing to good appetites and good humour ; two hearty feeders, which will devour with satisfaction whatever food you place before them : whereas without these, the elegance of St James's, the charde, the perigord-pye, or the ortolan, the venison, turtle, or the custard, may titillate the throat, but will never convey happiness to the heart, or chearfulness to the countenance.

As the wind appeared still immoveable, my wife proposed my lying on shore. I presently agreed, though in defiance of an act of parliament, by which persons wandering abroad, and lodging in alehouses, are decreed to be rogues and vagabonds ; and this too, after having been very singularly officious in putting that law in execution.

My wife, having reconnoitred the house, reported, that there was one room in which were two beds. It was concluded, therefore, that she and Harriot should occupy one, and myself take possession of the other. She added likewise an ingenious recommendation of this room, to one who had so long been in a cabin, which it exactly resembled, as it was sunk down with age on one side, and was in the form of a ship with gunnels to.

For my own part, I make little doubt but this apartment was an ancient temple, built with the materials of a wreck, and probably dedicated to Neptune, in honour of THE BLESSING sent by him to the inhabitants ; such blessings having, in all ages, been very common to them. The timber employed in it confirms this opinion, being such as is seldom used by any but ship-builders. I do not find, indeed, any mention of this matter in Hearn ; but, perhaps, its antiquity was too modern to deserve his notice.

Certain

Certain it is, that this island of Wight was not an early convert to Christianity; nay, there is some reason to doubt whether it was ever entirely converted. But I have only time to touch slightly on all things of this kind, which, luckily for us, we have a society whose peculiar profession it is to discuss and develope.

Sunday, July 19. This morning early I summoned Mrs Francis, in order to pay her the preceding day's account. As I could recollect only two or three articles, I thought there was no necessity of pen and ink. In a single instance only we had exceeded what the law allows *gratis* to a foot soldier on his march, *viz.* vinegar, salt, &c. and dressing his meat. I found, however, I was mistaken in my calculation; for when the good woman attended with her bill, it contained as follows:

			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Bread and beer	—	—	0	2	4
Wind	—	—	0	2	0
Rum	—	—	0	2	0
Dressing dinner	—	—	0	3	0
Tea	—	—	0	1	6
Firing	—	—	0	1	0
Lodging	—	—	0	1	6
Servants lodging	—	—	0	0	6
			<i>£.</i>	0	13 10

Now that five people, and two servants, should live a day and a night at a public house for so small a sum, will appear incredible to any person in London above the degree of a chimney-sweeper; but more astonishing will it seem, that these people should remain so long at such a house, without tasting any other delicacy than bread, small beer, a tea-cup full of milk called cream, a glass of rum converted into punch by their own materials, and one bottle of *wind*, of which we only tasted a single glass, though possibly, indeed, our servants drank the remainder of the bottle.

This *wind* is a liquor of English manufacture, and its flavour is thought very delicious by the generality of the English, who drink it in great quantities.

tities. Every seventh year is thought to produce as much as the other six. It is then drank so plentifully, that the whole nation are in a manner intoxicated by it; and consequently, very little business is carried on at that season.

It resembles in colour the red wine, which is imported from Portugal, as it doth in its intoxicating quality; hence, and from this agreement in the orthography, the one is often confounded with the other, though both are seldom esteemed by the same person. It is to be had in every parish of the kingdom, and a pretty large quantity is consumed in the metropolis, where several taverns are set apart solely for the vendition of this liquor, the masters never dealing in any other.

The disagreement in our computation produced some small remonstrance to Mrs Francis on my side; but this received an immediate answer, ‘She scorned to overcharge gentlemen: her house had been always frequented by the very best gentry of the island; and she had never had a bill found fault with in her life, though she had lived upwards of forty years in the house, and within that time the greatest gentry in Hampshire had been at it, and that Lawyer Willis never went to any other, when he came to those parts. That for her part she did not get her livelihood by travellers, who were gone and away, and she never expected to see them more, but that her neighbours might come again; wherefore, to be sure, they had the only right to complain.’

She was proceeding thus, and from her volubility of tongue seemed likely to stretch the discourse to an immoderate length, when I suddenly cut all short by paying the bill.

This morning our ladies went to church, more, I fear, from curiosity than religion; they were attended by the Captain in a most military attire, with his cockade in his hat, and his sword by his side. So unusual an appearance in this little chapel drew the attention of all present, and, probably, disconcerted the women, who were in dishabille, and wished themselves
drest,

dress, for the sake of the curate, who was the greatest of their beholders.

While I was left alone, I received a visit from Mr Francis himself, who was much more considerable as a farmer, than as an innholder. Indeed, he left the latter entirely to the care of his wife, and he acted wisely, I believe, in so doing.

As nothing more remarkable past on this day, I will close it with the account of those two characters, as far as a few days residence could inform me of them. If they should appear as new to the reader as they did to me, he will not be displeased at finding them here.

This amiable couple seemed to border hard on their grand climacteric; nor indeed were they shy of owning enough to fix their ages within a year or two of that time. They appeared to be rather proud of having employed their time well, than ashamed of having lived so long; the only reason which I could ever assign, why some fine ladies, and fine gentlemen too, should desire to be thought younger than they really are by the contemporaries of their grand-children. Some, indeed, who too hastily credit appearances, might doubt whether they had made so good a use of their time as I would insinuate, since there was no appearance of any thing but poverty, want, and wretchedness about their house; nor could they produce any thing to a customer in exchange for his money, but a few bottles of *wind*, and spirituous liquors, and some very bad ale, to drink; with rusty bacon and worse cheese to eat. But then it should be considered, on the other side, that whatever they received was almost as entirely clear profit as the blessing of a wreck itself; such an inn being the very reverse of a coffee-house; for here you can neither sit for nothing, nor have any thing for your money.

Again, as many marks of want abounded every where, so were the marks of antiquity visible. Scarce any thing was to be seen which had not some scar upon it, made by the hand of time; not an utensil, it was manifest, had been purchased within a dozen years last past; so that whatever money had come into the house during that period, at least, must have remained

mained in it, unless it had been sent abroad for food, or other perishable commodities; but these were supplied by a small portion of the fruits of the farm, in which the farmer allowed he had a very good bargain. In fact, it is inconceivable what sums may be collected by starving only, and how easy it is for a man to die rich, if he will but be contented to live miserable.

Nor is there in this kind of starving any thing so terrible as some apprehend. It neither wastes a man's flesh, nor robs him of his cheerfulness. The famous Cornaro's case well proves the contrary; and so did farmer Francis, who was of a round stature, had a plump round face, with a kind of smile on it, and seemed to borrow an air of wretchedness, rather from his coat's age, than from his own.

The truth is, there is a certain diet, which emaciates men more than any possible degree of abstinence; though I do not remember to have seen any caution against it, either in Chenev, Arbuthnot, or in any other modern writer on regimen. Nay, the very name is not, I believe, in the learned Dr James's dictionary; all which is the more extraordinary, as it is a very common food in this kingdom, and the college themselves were not long since very liberally entertained with it, by the present attorney and other eminent lawyers, in Lincoln's-inn-hall, and were all made horribly sick by it.

But though it should not be found among our English physical writers, we may be assured of meeting with it among the Greeks; for nothing considerable in nature escapes their notice; though many things considerable in them, it is to be feared, have escaped the notice of their readers. The Greeks then, to all such as feed too voraciously on this diet, give the name of *HEAUFOTAGI*, which our physicians will, I suppose, translate *men that eat themselves*.

As nothing is so destructive to the body as this kind of food, so nothing is so plentiful and cheap; but it was perhaps the only cheap thing the farmer disliked. Probably living much on fish might produce this disgust; for Diodorus Siculus attributes the same aversion in a people of Æthiopia to the same cause: he calls them the fish-eaters; and asserts, that they can-

not be brought to eat a single meal with the Heauto-fagi by any persuasion, threat, or violence whatever, not even though they should kill their children before their faces.

What hath puzzled our physicians, and prevented them from setting this matter in the clearest light, is possibly one simple mistake, arising from a very excusable ignorance; that the passions of men are capable of swallowing food as well as their appetites; that the former, in feeding, resemble the state of those animals who chew the cud; and therefore, such men, in some sense, may be said to prey on themselves, and as it were to devour their own entrails. And hence ensues a meagre aspect, and thin habit of body, as surely as from what is called a consumption.

Our farmer was one of these. He had no more passion than an Ichthuofagus or Ethiopian fisher. He wished not for any thing, thought not of any thing; indeed, he scarce did any thing, or said any thing. Here I cannot be understood strictly; for then I must describe a non-entity, whereas I would rob him of nothing but that free-agency which is the cause of all the corruption and all the misery of human nature. No man, indeed, ever did more than the farmer, for he was an absolute slave to labour all the week; but in truth, as my sagacious reader must have at first apprehended, when I said he resigned the care of the house to his wife, I meant more than I then expressed, even the house and all that belonged to it; for he was really a farmer, only under the direction of his wife. In a word, so composed, so serene, so placid a countenance, I never saw; and he satisfied himself by answering to every question he was asked; 'I don't know any thing about it, Sir; I leaves all that to my wife.'

Now, as a couple of this kind would, like two vessels of oil, have made no composition in life, and for want of all favour must have palled every taste; nature or fortune, or both of them, took care to provide a proper quantity of acid, in the materials that formed the wife, and to render her a perfect *Help-mate* for so tranquil a husband. She abounded in whatso-

ever he was defective; that is to say, in almost every thing. She was indeed as vinegar to oil, or a brisk wind to a standing-pool, and preserved all from stagnation and corruption.

Quin the player, on taking a nice and severe survey of a fellow-comedian, burst forth into this exclamation, 'If that fellow be not a rogue, God Almighty doth not write a legible hand.' Whether he guessed right or no, is not worth my while to examine. Certain it is, that the latter, having wrought his features into a proper harmony to become the characters of Iago, Shylock, and others of the same cast, gave us a semblance of truth to the observation, that was sufficient to confirm the wit of it. Indeed, we may remark, in favour of the physiognomist, though the law has made him a rogue and vagabond, that nature is seldom curious in her works within, without employing some little pains on the outside; and this more particularly in mischievous characters, in forming which, as Mr Derham observes in venomous insects, as the sting or saw of a wasp, she is sometimes wonderfully industrious. Now, when she hath thus completely armed her hero, to carry on a war with man, she never fails of furnishing that innocent lambkin with some means of knowing his enemy, and foreseeing his designs. Thus she hath been observed to act in the case of a rattlesnake, which never meditates a human prey without giving warning of his approach.

This observation will, I am convinced, hold most true, if applied to the most venomous individuals of human insects. A tyrant, a trickster, and a bully, generally wear the marks of their several dispositions in their countenance; so do the vixen, the shrew, the scold, and all other females of the like kind. But, perhaps, nature had never afforded a stronger example of all this, than in the case of Mrs Francis. She was a short, squat woman; her head was closely joined to her shoulders, where it was fixed somewhat awry; every feature of her countenance was sharp and pointed; her face was furrowed with the small-pox; and her complexion, which seemed to be able to turn milk to curds, not a little resembled in colour such milk as had already undergone that operation. She appeared,
indeed,

indeed, to have many symptoms of a deep jaundice in her look; but the strength and firmness of her voice over-balanced them all; the tone of this was a sharp treble at a distance; for I seldom heard it on the same floor, but was usually waked with it in the morning, and entertained with it almost continually through the whole day.

Though vocal be usually put in opposition to instrumental music; I question whether this might not be thought to partake of the nature of both; for she played on two instruments, which she seemed to keep for no other use from morning till night; these were two maids, or rather scolding-flocks, who, I suppose, by some means or other, earned their board, and she gave them their lodging gratis, or for no other service than to keep her lungs in constant exercise.

She differed, as I have said, in every particular from her husband; but very remarkably in this, that as it was impossible to displease him, so it was as impossible to please her; and as no art could remove a smile from his countenance, so could no art carry it into hers. If her bills were remonstrated against, she was offended with the tacit censure of her fair-dealing; if they were not, she seemed to regard it as a tacit sarcasm on her folly, which might have set down larger prices with the same success. On this latter hint she did indeed improve; for she daily raised some of her articles. A pennyworth of fire was to-day rated at a shilling, to-morrow at eighteen-pence; and if she drest us two dishes for two shillings on the Saturday, we paid half a crown for the cookery of one on the Sunday; and wherever she was paid, she never left the room without lamenting the small amount of her bill; saying, 'she knew not how it was that others got their money by gentlefolks, but, for her part, she had not the art of it.' When she was asked, why she complained, when she was paid all she demanded, she answered, 'she could not deny that, nor did she know she omitted any thing; but that it was but a poor bill for gentlefolks to pay.'

I accounted for all this by her having heard, that it is a maxim with the principal innholders on the

continent, to levy considerable sums on their guests, who travel with many horses and servants, though such guests should eat little or nothing in their houses; the method being, I believe, in such cases, to lay a capitation on the horses, and not on their masters. But she did not consider, that in most of these inns a very great degree of hunger, without any degree of delicacy, may be satisfied; and that in all such inns there is some appearance, at least, of provision, as well as of a man cook to dress it, one of the hostlers being always furnished with a cook's cap, waistcoat and apron, ready to attend gentlemen and ladies on their summons; that the case therefore of such inns differed from hers, where there was nothing to eat or to drink; and in reality no house to inhabit, no chair to sit upon, nor any bed to lie in; that one third or fourth part therefore of the levy imposed at inns was in truth a higher tax than the whole was when laid on in the other, where, in order to raise a small sum, a man is obliged to submit to pay as many various ways for the same thing as he doth to the government, for the light which enters through his own window into his own house, from his own estate; such are the articles of bread and beer, firing, eating, and dressing dinner.

The foregoing is a very imperfect sketch of this extraordinary couple; for every thing is here lowered instead of being heightened. Those who would see them set forth in more lively colours, and with the proper ornaments, may read the description of the Furies in some of the classical poets, or of the Stoic philosophers in the works of Lucian.

Monday, July 20. This day nothing remarkable passed; Mrs Francis levied a tax of fourteen shillings for the Sunday. We regaled ourselves at dinner with venison and good claret of our own; and, in the afternoon, the women, attended by the Captain, walked to see a delightful scene two miles distant, with the beauties of which they declared themselves most highly charmed at their return, as well as with the goodness of the lady of the mansion, who had slipped out of the way, that my wife and her company might refresh

fresh themselves with the flowers and fruits with which her garden abounded.

Tuesday, July 21. This day, having paid our taxes of yesterday, we were permitted to regale ourselves with more venison. Some of this we would willingly have exchanged for mutton; but no such flesh was to be had nearer than Portsmouth, from whence it would have cost more to convey a joint to us, than the freight of a Portugal ham from Lisbon to London amounts to: for though the water-carriage be somewhat cheaper here than at Deal, yet can you find no waterman who will go on board his boat, unless by two or three hours rowing he can get drunk for the residue of the week.

And here I have an opportunity, which possibly may not offer again, of publishing some observations on that political œconomy of this nation, which, as it concerns only the regulation of the mob, is below the notice of our great men; though on the due regulation of this order depend many emoluments, which the great men themselves, or at least many who tread close on their heels, may enjoy, as well as some dangers which may some time or other arise from introducing a pure state of anarchy among them. I will represent the case as it appears to me, very fairly and impartially, between the mob and their betters.

The whole mischief which infects this part of our œconomy, arises from the vague and uncertain use of a word called Liberty, of which as scarce any two men with whom I have ever conversed seem to have one and the same idea, I am inclined to doubt whether there be any simple universal notion represented by this word, or whether it conveys any clearer or more determinate idea, than some of those old Panie composition of syllables, preserved in one of the comedies of Plautus, but at present, as I conceive, not supposed to be understood by any one.

By liberty, however, I apprehend, is commonly understood the power of doing what we please: not absolutely; for then it would be inconsistent with law, by whose controul the liberty of the freest people;

except only the Hottentots and wild Indians, must always be restrained.

But, indeed, however largely we extend, or however moderately we confine, the sense of the word, no politician will, I presume, contend, that it is to pervade in an equal degree, and be with the same extent enjoyed, by every member of society; no such polity having been ever found, unless among those vile people just before commemorated. Among the Greeks and Romans, the servile and free conditions were opposed to each other: and no man who had the misfortune to be enrolled under the former could lay any claim to liberty, till the right was conveyed to him by that master whose slave he was, either by the means of conquest, of purchase, or of birth.

This was the state of all the free nations in the world; and this, till very lately, was understood to be the case of our own.

I will not indeed say this is the case at present, the lowest class of our people having shaken off all the shackles of their superiors, and become not only as free, but even freer, than most of their superiors. I believe it cannot be doubted, though perhaps we have no recent instance of it, that the personal attendance of every man, who hath three hundred pounds *per annum*, in parliament, is indispensably his duty; and that, if the citizens and burgesses of any city or borough shall chuse such a one, however reluctant he appear, he may be obliged to attend, and be forcibly brought to his duty by the serjeant at arms.

Again, there are numbers of subordinate offices, some of which are of burden, and others of expence, in the civil government: all of which, persons who are qualified are liable to have imposed on them, may be obliged to undertake and properly execute, notwithstanding any bodily labour, or even danger, to which they may subject themselves, under the penalty of fines and imprisonment; nay, and what may appear somewhat hard, may be compelled to satisfy the losses which are eventually incident, to that of sheriff in particular, out of their own private fortunes; and though this should prove the ruin of a family, yet the public,

to

to whom the price is due, incurs no debt of obligation to preserve its officer harmless, let his innocence appear ever so clearly.

I purposely omit the mention of those military or military duties, which our old constitution laid upon its greatest members. These might, indeed, supply their posts with some other able-bodied men; but, if no such could have been found, the obligation nevertheless remained, and they were compellable to serve in their own proper persons.

The only one, therefore, who is possessed of absolute liberty, is the lowest member of the society, who, if he prefers hunger, or the wild product of the fields, hedges, lanes, and rivers, with the indulgence of ease and laziness, to a food a little more delicate, but purchased at the expence of labour, may lay himself under a shade; nor can be forced to take the other alternative from that which he hath, I will not affirm whether wisely or foolishly, chosen.

Here I may, perhaps, be reminded of the last vagrant act, where all such persons are compellable to work for the usual and accustomed wages allowed in the place; but this is a clause little known to the justices of the peace, and least likely to be executed by those who do know it, as they know likewise that it is formed on the ancient power of the justices to fix and settle these wages every year, making proper allowances for the scarcity and plenty of the times, the cheapness and dearness of the place; and that *the usual and accustomed wages* are words without any force or meaning, when there are no such; but every man sponges and raps whatever he can get; and will haggle as long, and struggle as hard, to cheat his employer of two-pence in a day's labour, as an honest tradesman will to cheat his customers of the same sum in a yard of cloth or silk.

It is a great pity then that this power, or rather this practice, was not revived; but this having been so long omitted, that it is become obsolete, will be best done by a new law, in which this power, as well as the consequent power of forcing the poor to labour at a moderate and reasonable rate, should be well considered,

dered, and their execution facilitated : for gentlemen who give their time and labour *gratis*, and even voluntarily, to the public, have a right to expect that all their business be made as easy as possible : and to enact laws without doing this, is to fill our statute-books, much too full already, still fuller with dead letter, of no use but to the printer of the acts of parliament.

That the evil which I have here pointed at is of itself worth redressing, is, I apprehend, no subject of dispute : for why should any persons in distress be deprived of the assistance of their fellow-subjects, when they are willing amply to reward them for their labour ? or, why should the lowest of the people be permitted to exact ten times the value of their work ? For those exactions increase with the degrees of necessity in their object, insomuch that on the former side many are horribly imposed upon, and that often in no trifling matters. I was very well assured, that at Deal no less than ten guineas was required, and paid by the supercargo of an Indiaman, for carrying him on board two miles from the shore, when she was just ready to sail ; so that his necessity, as his pillager well understood, was absolute. Again, many others, whose indignation will not submit to such plunder, are forced to refuse the assistance, though they are often great sufferers by so doing. On the latter side, the lowest of the people are encouraged in laziness and idleness, while they live by a twentieth part of the labour that ought to maintain them, which is diametrically opposite to the interest of the public ; for that requires a great deal to be done, not to be paid, for a little. And moreover, they are confirmed in habits of exaction, and are taught to consider the distresses of their superiors as their own fair emolument.

But enough of this matter, of which I at first intended only to convey a hint to those who are alone capable of applying the remedy, though they are the last to whom the notice of those evils would occur, without some such monitor as myself, who am forced to travel about the world in the form of a passenger. I cannot but say I heartily wish our governors would
attentively

attentively consider this method of fixing the price of labour, and by that means of compelling the poor to work, since the due execution of such powers will, I apprehend, be found the true and only means of making them useful, and of advancing trade, from its present visible declining state, to the height to which Sir William Petyt, in his Political Arithmetic, thinks it capable of being carried.

In the afternoon, the lady of the above-mentioned mansion called at our inn, and left her compliments to us with Mrs Francis, with an assurance, that while we continued windbound in that place, where she feared we could be but indifferently accommodated, we were extremely welcome to the use of any thing which her garden or her house afforded. So polite a message convinced us, in spite of some arguments to the contrary, that we were not on the coast of Africa, or on some island where the few savage inhabitants have little of human in them besides their form.

And here I mean nothing less than to derogate from the merit of this lady, who is not only extremely polite in her behaviour to strangers of her own rank, but so extremely good and charitable to all her poor neighbours, who stand in need of her assistance, that she hath the universal love and praises of all who live near her. But, in reality, how little doth the acquisition of so valuable a character, and the full indulgence of so worthy a disposition, cost those who possess it? Both are accomplished by the very offals which fall from a table moderately plentiful. That they are enjoyed therefore by so few, arises truly from there being so few who have any such disposition to gratify, or who aim at any such character.

Wednesday, July 22. The morning, after having been mulcted as usual, we dispatched a servant with proper acknowledgments of the lady's goodness; but confined our wants entirely to the productions of her garden. He soon returned, in company with the gardener, both richly laden with almost every particular which a garden at this most fruitful season of the year produces.

While we were regaling ourselves with these, towards

wards the close of our dinner, we received orders from our commander, who had dined that day with some inferior officers on board a man of war, to return instantly to the ship; for that the wind was become favourable, and he should weigh that evening. These orders were soon followed by the Captain himself, who was still in the utmost hurry, though the occasion of it had long since ceased; for the wind had indeed a little shifted that afternoon, but was before this very quietly set down in its old quarters.

This last was a lucky hit for me: for, as the Captain, to whose orders we resolved to pay no obedience, unless delivered by himself, did not return till past six; so much time seemed requisite to put up the furniture of our bed-chamber or dining-room, for almost every article, even to some of the chairs, were either our own or the Captain's property; so much more in conveying it, as well as myself, as dead a luggage as any, to the shore, and thence to the ship, that the night threatened first to overtake us. A terrible circumstance to me, in my decayed condition; especially as very heavy showers of rain, attended with a high wind, continued to fall incessantly; the being carried through which, two miles in the dark, in a wet and open boat, seemed little less than certain death.

However, as my commander was absolute, his orders peremptory, and my obedience necessary, I resolved to avail myself of a philosophy which hath been of notable use to me in the latter part of my life, and which is contained in this hemistich of Virgil:

-----*Superanda omnis fortuna ferenda est.*

The meaning of which, if Virgil had any, I think I rightly understood and rightly applied.

As I was therefore to be entirely passive in my motion, I resolved to abandon myself to the conduct of those who were to carry me into a cart, when it returned from unloading the goods.

But before this the Captain, perceiving what had happened in the clouds, and that the wind remained as much his enemy as ever, came up stairs to me, with a reprieve till the morning. This was, I own, very agree-

agreeable news, and I little regretted the trouble of refurnishing my apartment, by sending back for the goods.

Mrs Francis was not well pleased with this. As she understood the reprieve to be only till the morning, she saw nothing but lodging to be possibly added, out of which she was to deduct fire and candle, and the remainder, she thought, would scarce pay her for her trouble. She exerted therefore all the ill-humour of which she was mistress, and did all she could to thwart and perplex every thing during the whole evening.

Thursday, July 23. Early in the morning, the Captain, who had remained on shore all night, came to visit us, and to press us to make haste on board. ‘I am resolved,’ says he, ‘not to lose a moment, now the wind is coming about fair; for my own part, I never was surer of a wind in all my life.’ I use his very words; nor will I presume to interpret or comment upon them farther, than by observing, that they were spoke in the utmost hurry.

We promised to be ready as soon as breakfast was over; but this was not so soon as was expected; for in removing our goods the evening before, the tea-chest was unhappily lost.

Every place was immediately searched, and many where it was impossible for it to be; for this was a loss of much greater consequence than it may at first seem to many of my readers. Ladies and valetudinarians do not easily dispense with the use of this sovereign cordial, in a single instance; but to undertake a long voyage, without any probability of being supplied with it the whole way, was above the reach of patience. And yet, dreadful as this calamity was, it seemed unavoidable. The whole town of Ryde could not supply a single leaf; for as to what Mrs Francis and the shop called by that name, it was not of Chinese growth. It did not indeed in the least resemble tea, either in smell or taste; or in any particular, unless in being a leaf: for it was in truth no other than a tobacco of the mundungus species. And as for the hopes of relief in any other port, they were not to be depended upon; for the Captain had positively declared

clared he was fure of a wind, and would let go his anchor no more till he arrived in the Tajo.

When a good deal of time had been spent, most of it indeed wasted, on this occasion, a thought occurred, which every one wondered at its not having presented itself the first moment. This was to apply to the good lady, who could not fail of pitying and relieving such distreses. A messenger was immediately dispatched, with an account of our misfortune ; till whose return we employed ourselves in preparatives for our departure, that we might have nothing to do but to swallow our breakfast when it arrived. The tea-chest, though of no less consequence to us than the military chest to a general, was given up as lost, or rather as stolen ; for though I would not, for the world, mention any particular name, it is certain we had suspicions, and all, I am afraid, fell on the same person.

The man returned from the worthy lady with much expedition, and brought with him a canister of tea, dispatched with so true a generosity, as well as politeness, that, if our voyage had been as long again, we should have incurred no danger of being brought to a short allowance in this most important article. At the very same instant likewise arrived William the footman, with our own tea-chest. It had been, indeed, left in the hoy, when the other goods were re-landed, as William, when he first heard it was missing, had suspected ; and whence, had not the owner of the hoy been unluckily out of the way, he had retrieved it soon enough to have prevented our giving the lady an opportunity of displaying some part of her goodness.

To search the hoy was, indeed, too natural a suggestion to have escaped any one, nor did it escape being mentioned by many of us ; but we were dissuaded from it by my wife's maid, who perfectly well remembered she had left the chest in the bed-chamber ; for that she had never given it out of her hand in her way to or from the hoy : but William, perhaps, knew the maid better, and best understood how far she was to be believed ; for otherwise he would hardly of his own accord, after hearing her declarations, have

hunted out the hoyman, with much pains and difficulty.

Thus ended this scene, which begun with such appearance of distress, and ended with becoming the subject of mirth and laughter.

Nothing now remained but to pay our taxes, which were indeed laid on with inconceivable severity. Lodging was raised six-pence, fire in the same proportion, and even candles, which had hitherto escaped, were charged, with a wantonness of imposition, from the beginning, and placed under the title of oversight. We were raised a whole pound, whereas we had only burnt ten, in five nights, and the pound consisted of twenty-four.

Lastly, an attempt was made, which almost as far exceeds human credulity to believe, as it did human patience to submit to. This was to make us pay as much for existing an hour or two as for existing a whole day; and dressing dinner was introduced as an article, though we left the house before either pot or spit had approached the fire. Here, I own, my patience failed me, and I became an example of the truth of the observation, 'That all tyranny and oppression may be carried too far, and that a yoke may be made too intolerable for the neck of the tamest slave.' When I remonstrated with some warmth against this grievance, Mrs Francis gave me a look, and left the room without making any answer. She returned in a minute, running to me with pen, ink, and paper in her hand, and desired me to make my own bill; 'for she hoped,' she said, 'I did not expect that her house was to be dirtied, and her goods spoiled and consumed for nothing. The whole is but thirteen shillings. Can gentlefolks lie a whole night at a public house for less? If they can, I am sure it is time to give off being a landlady: but pay me what you please; I would have people know that I value money as little as other folks. But I was always a fool, as I says to my husband, and never knows which side my bread is buttered of. And yet, to be sure, your honour shall be my warning not to be bit so again. Some folks knows better than other some,

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' how to make their bills. Candles ! why, yes, to be
 ' sure ; why should not travellers pay for candles ? I
 ' am sure I pays for my candles, and the chandler
 ' pays the King's Majesty for them ; and if he did
 ' not, I must, so as it comes to the same thing in the
 ' end. To be sure, I am out of sixteens at present ;
 ' but these burn as white and as clear, though not
 ' quite so large. I expects my chandler here soon, or
 ' I would send to Portsmouth, if your honour was to
 ' stay any time longer. But when folks stays only for
 ' a wind, you knows, there can be no dependance on
 ' such !' Here she put on a little slyness of aspect,
 and seemed willing to submit to interruption. I interrupted her, accordingly, by throwing down half a guinea, and declared I had no more English money, which was indeed true ; and as she could not immediately change the thirty-six shilling pieces, it put a final end to the dispute. Mrs Francis soon left the room, and we soon after left the house ; nor would this good woman see us, or with us a good voyage.

I must not, however, quit this place, where we had been so ill treated, without doing it impartial justice, and recording what may, with the strictest truth, be said in its favour.

First then, as to its situation, it is, I think, most delightful, and in the most pleasant spot in the whole island. It is true, it wants the advantage of that beautiful river, which leads from Newport to Cowes : but the prospect here extending to the sea, and taking in Portsmouth, Spithead, and St Helen's, would be more than a recompence for the loss of the Thames itself, even in the most delightful part of Berkshire or Buckinghamshire, though another Denham, or another Pope, should unite in celebrating it. For my own part, I confess myself so entirely fond of a sea prospect, that I think nothing on the land can equal it ; and if it be set off with shipping, I desire to borrow no ornament from the *terra firma*. A fleet of ships is, in my opinion, the noblest object which the art of man hath ever produced ; and far beyond the power of those architects who deal in brick, in stone, or in marble.

When

When the late Sir Robert Walpole, one of the best of men and of ministers, used to equip us a yearly fleet at Spithead, his enemies of taste must have allowed that he, at least, treated the nation with a fine fight for their money; a much finer, indeed, than the same expence in an encampment could have produced. For what, indeed, is the best idea which the prospect of a number of hats can furnish to the mind; but of a number of men forming themselves into a society, before the art of building more substantial houses was known? This, perhaps, would be agreeable enough; but in truth, there is a much worse idea ready to step in before it; and that is, of a body of cut-throats, the supports of tyranny, the invaders of the just liberties and properties of mankind, the plunderers of the industrious, the ravishers of the chaste, the murderers of the innocent, and, in a word, the destroyers of the plenty, the peace, and the safety of their fellow-creatures.

And what, it may be said, are these men of war, which seem so delightful an object to our eyes? Are they not alike the support of tyranny, and oppression of innocence, carrying with them desolation and ruin where-ever their masters please to send them? This is indeed too true; and however the ship of war may, in its bulk and equipment, exceed the honest merchantman, I heartily wish there was no necessity for it; for though I must own the superior beauty of the object on one side, I am more pleased with the superior excellence of the idea, which I can raise in my mind on the other; while I reflect on the art and industry of mankind, engaged in the daily improvements of commerce, to the mutual benefit of all countries, and to the establishment and happiness of social life.

This pleasant village is situated on a gentle ascent from the water, whence it affords that charming prospect I have above described. Its soil is a gravel, which, assisted with its declivity, preserves it always so dry, that immediately after the most violent rain, a fine lady may walk without wetting her silken shoes. The fertility of the place is apparent from its extraordinary verdure, and it is so shaded with large and flourishing

elms, that its narrow lanes are a natural grove or walk, which, in the regularity of its plantation, vies with the power of art, and in its wanton exuberancy greatly exceeds it.

In a field, in the ascent of this hill, about a quarter of a mile from the sea, stands a neat little chapel. It is very small, but adequate to the number of inhabitants: for the parish doth not seem to contain above thirty houses.

At about two miles distant from this parish, lives that polite and good lady to whose kindness we were so much obliged. It is placed on a hill, whose bottom is washed by the sea, and which, from its eminence at top, commands a view of great part of the island, as well as it does that of the opposite shore. This house was formerly built by one Boyce, who, from a blacksmith at Gosport, became possessed, by great success in smuggling, of forty thousand pound. With part of this he purchased an estate here, and by chance, probably, fixed on this spot for building a large house. Perhaps the convenience of carrying on his business, to which it is so well adapted, might dictate the situation to him. We can hardly, at least, attribute it to the same taste with which he furnished his house, or at least his library, by sending an order to a bookseller in London, to pack him up five hundred pound's worth of his handsomest books. They tell here several almost incredible stories of the ignorance, the folly, and the pride, which this poor man and his wife discovered during the short continuance of his prosperity; for he did not long escape the sharp eyes of the revenue-solicitors, and was, by extents from the Court of Exchequer, soon reduced below his original state, to that of confinement in the Fleet. All his effects were sold, and among the rest his books, by an auction at Portsmouth, for a very small price; for the bookseller was now discovered to have been perfectly a master of his trade, and relying on Mr Boyce's finding little time to read, had sent him not only the most lasting wares of his shop, but duplicates of the same, under different titles.

His

His estate and house were purchased by a gentleman of these parts, whose widow now enjoys them, and who hath improved them, particularly her gardens, with so elegant a taste, that the painter who would assist his imagination in the composition of a most exquisite landscape, or the poet who would describe an earthly paradise, could no where furnish themselves with a richer pattern.

We left this place about eleven in the morning, and were again conveyed with more sunshine than wind aboard our ship.

Whence our Captain had acquired his power of prophecy, when he promised us and himself a prosperous wind, I will not determine; it is sufficient to observe that he was a false prophet, and that the weather-cocks continued to point as before.

He would not, however, so easily give up his skill in prediction. He persevered in asserting that the wind was changed, and having weighed his anchor, fell down that afternoon to St Helen's, which was at about the distance of five miles; and whither his friend the tide, in defiance of the wind, which was most manifestly against him, softly wafted him in as many hours.

Here, about seven in the evening, before which time we could not procure it, we sat down to regale ourselves with some roasted venison, which was much better drest than we imagined it would be, and an excellent cold patty which my wife had made at Ryde, and which we had reserved uncut to eat on board our ship, whither we all cheerfully exulted in being returned from the presence of Mrs Francis, who, by the exact resemblance she bore to a fury, seemed to have been with no great propriety settled in paradise.

Friday, July 24. As we passed by Spithead on the preceding evening, we saw the two regiments of soldiers who were just returned from Gibraltar and Minorca; and this day a lieutenant belonging to one of them, who was the Captain's nephew, came to pay a visit to his uncle. He was what is called by some a very pretty fellow: indeed, much too pretty a fellow at his years; for he was turned of thirty-four.

though his address and conversation would have become him more before he had reached twenty. In his conversation, it is true, there was something military enough, as it consisted chiefly of oaths, and of the great actions and wise sayings of Jack, and Will, and Tom of our regiment, a phrase eternally in his mouth; and he seemed to conclude, that it conveyed to all the officers such a degree of public notoriety and importance, that it intitled him, like the head of a profession, or a first minister, to be the subject of conversation among those who had not the least personal acquaintance with him. This did not much surprise me, as I have seen several examples of the same; but the defects in his address, especially to the women, were so great, that they seemed absolutely inconsistent with the behaviour of a pretty fellow, much less of one in a red coat; and yet, besides having been eleven years in the army, he had had, as his uncle informed me, an education in France. This, I own, would have appeared to have been absolutely thrown away, had not his animal spirits, which were likewise thrown away upon him in great abundance, borne the visible stamp of the growth of that country. The character, to which he had an indisputable title, was that of a merry fellow; so very merry was he, that he laughed at every thing he said, and always before he spoke. Possibly, indeed, he often laughed at what he did not utter, for every speech began with a laugh, though it did not always end with a jest. There was no great analogy between the characters of the uncle and the nephew, and yet they seemed intirely to agree in enjoying the honour which the red-coat did to his family. This the uncle expressed with great pleasure in his countenance, and seemed desirous of shewing all present the honour which he had for his nephew, who, on his side, was at some pains to convince us of his concurring in this opinion, and, at the same time, of displaying the contempt he had for the parts, as well as the occupation, of his uncle, which he seemed to think reflected some disgrace on himself, who was a member of that profession which makes every man a gentleman. Not that I would be understood to insinuate,

nuate, that the nephew endeavoured to shake off or disown his uncle, or indeed, to keep him at any distance. On the contrary, he treated him with the utmost familiarity, often calling him, 'Dick,' and 'Dear Dick,' and 'old Dick,' and frequently beginning an oration with, 'D—n me, Dick.'

All this condescension on the part of the young man was received with suitable marks of complaisance and obligation by the old one; especially when it was attended with evidences of the same familiarity with general officers, and other persons of rank; one of whom, in particular, I know to have the pride and insolence of the devil himself, and who, without some strong bias of interest, is no more liable to converse familiarly with a lieutenant, than of being mistaken in his judgment of a fool; which was not, perhaps, so certainly the case of the worthy lieutenant, who, in declaring to us the qualifications which recommended men to his countenance and conversation, as well as what effectually set a bar to all hopes of that honour, exclaimed, 'No, Sir, by the D—, 'I hate all fools---No, d—n me, excuse me for that. 'That's a little too much, old Dick. There are two 'or three officers of our regiment, whom I know to 'be fools; but d—n me if I am ever seen in their 'company. If a man hath a fool of a relation, Dick, 'you know he can't help that, old boy.'

Such jokes as these the old man not only took in good part, but glibly gulped down the whole narrative of his nephew; nor did he, I am convinced, in the least doubt of our as readily swallowing the same. This made him so charmed with the Lieutenant, that it is probable we should have been pestered with him the whole evening, had not the north wind, dearer to our sea-captain even than this glory of his family, sprung suddenly up, and called aloud to him to weigh his anchor.

While this ceremony was performing, the sea-captain ordered out his boat to row the land-captain to shore; not indeed on an uninhabited island, but one which, in this part, looked but little better, not presenting us the view of a single house. Indeed, our
old

old friend, when his boat returned on shore, perhaps being no longer able to stifle his envy of the superiority of his nephew, told us, with a smile, that the young man had a good five mile to walk, before he could be accommodated with a passage to Portsmouth.

It appeared now, that the Captain had been only mistaken in the date of his prediction, by placing the event a day earlier than it happened; for the wind, which now arose, was not only favourable but brisk, and was no sooner in reach of our sails than it swept us away by the back of the Isle of Wight, and having in the night carried us by Christ-church and Peveral-point, brought us the next noon, *Saturday, July 29,* off the island of Portland, so famous for the smallness and sweetness of its mutton, of which a leg seldom weighs four pounds. We would have bought a sheep, but our Captain would not permit it; tho' he needed not to have been in such a hurry, for presently the wind, I will not positively assert in resentment of his furliness, shewed him a dog's trick, and silyly slipped back again to his summer-house in the south-west.

The Captain now grew outrageous, and declaring open war with the wind, took a resolution, rather more bold than wise, of sailing in defiance of it, and in its teeth. He swore he would let go his anchor no more, but would beat the sea while he had either yard or sail left. He accordingly stood from the shore, and made so large a tack, that before night, though he seemed to advance but little on his way, he was got out of sight of land.

Towards the evening, the wind began, in the Captain's own language, and, indeed, to freshen so much, that before ten it blew a perfect hurricane. The Captain having got, as he supposed, to a safe distance, tacked again towards the English shore; and now the wind veered a point only in his favour, and continued to blow with such violence, that the ship ran above eight knots or miles an hour, during this whole day and tempestuous night, till bed-time. I was obliged to betake myself once more to my solitude; for my women were all again down in their sea-sickness, and the

the Captain was busy on deck; for he began to grow uneasy, chiefly, I believe, because he did not well know where he was, and would, I am convinced, have been very glad to have been in Portland-road, eating some sheep's-head broth.

Having contracted no great degree of good-humour, by living a whole day alone, without a single soul to converse with, I took but ill physic to purge it off, by a bed-conversation with the Captain; who, amongst many bitter lamentations of his fate, and protesting he had more patience than a Job, frequently intermixed summons to the commanding officer on the deck, who now happened to be one Morrison, a carpenter, the only fellow that had either common sense or common civility in the ship. Of Morrison he enquired every quarter of an hour concerning the state of affairs; the wind, the care of the ship, and other matters of navigation. The frequency of these summons, as well as the solicitude with which they were made, sufficiently testified the state of the Captain's mind; he endeavoured to conceal it, and would have given no small alarm to a man, who had either not learnt what it is to die, or known what it is to be miserable. And my dear wife and child must pardon me, if what I did not conceive to be any great evil to myself, I was not much terrified with the thoughts of happening to them; in truth, I have often thought they are both too good, and too gentle, to be trusted to the power of any man I know, to whom they could possibly be so trusted.

Can I say then I had no fear? indeed, I cannot. Reader, I was afraid for thee, lest thou shouldst have been deprived of that pleasure thou art now enjoying; and that I should not live to draw out on paper, that military character which thou didst peruse in the journal of yesterday.

From all these fears we were relieved, at six in the morning, by the arrival of Mr Morrison, who acquainted us that he was sure he beheld land very near; for he could not see half a mile, by reason of the haziness of the weather. This land, he said, was, he believed, the Berry-head, which forms one side of
Torbay;

Torbay; the Captain declared that was impossible, and swore, on condition he was right, he would give him his mother for a maid. A forfeit which became afterwards strictly due, and payable; for the Captain, whipping on his nightgown, ran up without his breeches, and within half an hour returning into the cabin, wished me joy of our lying safe at anchor in the bay.

Sunday, July 26. Things now began to put on an aspect very different from that they had lately worn; the news that the ship had almost lost its mizen, and that we had procured very fine clouted cream and fresh bread and butter from the shore, restored health and spirits to our women, and we all sat down to a very chearful breakfast.

But however pleasant our stay promised to be here, we were all desirous it should be short: I resolved immediately to dispatch my man into the country, to purchase a present of cyder for my friends of that which is called Southam, as well as to take with me a hogthead of it to Lisbon; for it is, in my opinion, much more delicious than that which is the growth of Herefordshire. I purchased three hogheads for five pounds ten shillings, all which I should have scarce thought worth mentioning, had I not believed it might be of equal service to the honest farmer who sold it me, and who is by the neighbouring gentlemen reputed to deal in the very best, and to the reader, who, from ignorance of the means of providing better for himself, swallows at a dearer rate the juice of Middlesex turnip, instead of that *Vinum Pomonæ*, which Mr Giles Leverance, of Cheeshurst, near Dartmouth in Devon, will, at the price of forty shillings *per* hogthead, send in double casks to any part of the world. Had the wind been very sudden in shifting, I had lost my cyder, by an attempt of a boatman to exact, according to custom. He required five shillings for conveying my man a mile and a half to the shore, and four more, if he staid to bring him back. This I thought to be such insufferable impudence, that I ordered him to be immediately chased from the ship, without any answer. Indeed, there
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are few inconveniences that I would not rather encounter than encourage the insolent demands of these wretches at the expence of my own indignation ; of which, I own, they are not the only objects, but rather those who purchase a paultry convenience by encouraging them. But of this I have already spoken very largely. I shall conclude, therefore, with the leave which this fellow took of our ship ; saying, he should know it again, and would not put off from the shore to relieve it in any distress whatever.

It would, doubtless, surprise many of my readers to hear, that when we lay at anchor within a mile or two of a town, several days together, and even in the most temperate weather, we should frequently want fresh provisions and herbage, and other emoluments of the shore, as much as if we had been a hundred leagues from land : and this too, while numbers of boats were in our sight, whose owners get their livelihood by rowing people up and down, and could be at any time summoned by a signal to our assistance, and while the Captain had a little boat of his own with men always ready to row it at his command.

This, however, hath been partly accounted for already, by the imposing disposition of the people ; who asked so much more than the proper price of their labour. And as to the usefulness of the Captain's boat, it requires to be a little expatiated upon, as it will tend to lay open some of the grievances which demand the utmost regard of our legislature, as they affect the most valuable part of the King's subjects, those by whom the commerce of the nation is carried into execution.

Our Captain then, who was a very good and experienced seaman, having been above thirty years the master of a vessel, part of which he had served, so he phrased it, as commander of a privateer, and had discharged himself with great courage and conduct, and with as great success, discovered the utmost aversion to the sending his boat a-shore, whenever we lay wind-bound in any of our harbours. This aversion did not arise from any fear of wearing out his boat by using it, but was, in truth, the result of experience, that

that it was easier to send his men on shore than to recall them. They acknowledged him to be their master while they remained on ship-board, but did not allow his power to extend to the shores, where they had no sooner set their foot, than every man became *sui juris*, and thought himself at full liberty to return when he pleased. Now it is not any delight that these fellows have in the fresh air or verdant fields on the land. Every one of them would prefer his ship and his hammock to all the sweets of Arabia the happy; but unluckily for them, there are in every sea-port in England certain houses, whose chief livelihood depends on providing entertainment for the gentlemen of the jacket. For this purpose, they are always well-furnished with those cordial liquors, which do immediately inspire the heart with gladness, banishing all careful thoughts, and, indeed, all others from the mind, and opening the mouth with songs of cheerfulness and thanksgiving, for the many wonderful blessings with which a sea-faring life overflows.

For my own part, however whimsical it may appear, I confess, I have thought the strange story of Circe, in the *Odyssæy*, no other than an ingenious allegory; in which Homer intended to convey to his countrymen the same kind of instruction, which we intend to communicate to our own in this digression. As teaching the art of war to the Greeks, was the plain design of the *Iliad*; so was teaching them the art of navigation the no less manifest intention of the *Odyssæy*. For the improvement of this, their situation was most excellently adapted; and accordingly we find Thucydides, in the beginning of his history, considers the Greeks as a sett of pirates, or privateers, plundering each other by sea. This being probably the first institution of commerce before the *Ars Cauponaria* was invented, and merchants, instead of robbing, began to cheat and outwit each other, and by degrees changed the Metaboletic, the only kind of traffic allowed by Aristotle in his *Politics*, into the *Chrematistick*.

By this allegory, then, I suppose Ulysses to have been the captain of a merchant ship, and Circe some

good alewife, who made his crew drunk with the spirituous liquors of those days. With this the transformation into swine, as well as all other incidents of the fable, will notably agree; and thus a key will be found out for unlocking the whole mystery, and forging, at least, some meaning to a story which, at present, appears very strange and absurd.

Hence, moreover, will appear the very near resemblance between the sea-faring men of all ages and nations; and here perhaps may be established the truth and justice of that observation, which will occur oftener than once in this voyage, that all human flesh is not the same flesh, but that there is one kind of flesh of landmen, and another of seamen.

Philosophers, divines, and others, who have treated the gratification of human appetites with contempt, have, among other instances, insisted very strongly on that satiety which is so apt to overtake them, even in the very act of enjoyment. And here they more particularly deserve our attention, as most of them may be supposed to speak from their own experience, and very probably gave us their lessons with a full stomach. Thus hunger and thirst, whatever delight they may afford while we are eating and drinking, pass both away from us with the plate and the cup; and though we should imitate the Romans, if indeed they were such dull beasts, which I can scarce believe, to unload the belly like a dungpot, in order to fill it again with another load, yet would the pleasure be so considerably lessened, that it would scarce repay us the trouble of purchasing it with swallowing a basin of camomile tea. A second haunch of venison, or a second dose of turtle, would hardly allure a city glutton with its smell. Even the celebrated Jew himself, when well filled with Calipash and Calipee, goes contentedly home to tell his money, and expects no more pleasure from his throat, during the next twenty-four hours. Hence, I suppose, Dr South took that elegant comparison of the joys of a speculative man to the solemn silence of an Archimedes over a problem, and those of a glutton to the stillness of a sow at her walk; a simile, which, if it became the pulpit at all, could only become it in the afternoon.

Whereas, in these potations which the mind seems to enjoy, rather than the bodily appetite, there is happily no such satiety; but the more a man drinks, the more he desires; as if, like Mark Anthony in Dryden, his appetite encreased with feeding, and this to such an immoderate degree, *ut nullus sit desiderio aut pudor aut modus*. Hence, as with the gang of Captain Ulysses, ensues so total a transformation, that the man no more continues what he was. Perhaps he ceases for a time to be at all; or, though he may retain the same outward form and figure he had before, yet is his nobler part, as we are taught to call it, so changed, that, instead of being the same man, he scarce remembers what he was a few hours before. And this transformation being once obtained, is so easily preserved by the same potations, which induce no satiety, that the Captain in vain sends or goes in quest of his crew. They know him no longer; or, if they do, they acknowledge not his power, having indeed as entirely forgotten themselves as if they had taken a large draught of the river of Lethe.

Nor is the Captain always sure of even finding out the place to which Circe had conveyed them. There are many of those houses in every port-town. Nay, there are some where the forcerefs doth not trust only to her drugs; but hath instruments of a different kind to execute her purposes, by whose means the tar is effectually secreted from the knowledge and pursuit of his captain. This would, indeed, be very fatal, was it not for one circumstance; that the sailor is seldom provided with the proper bait for these harpies. However, the contrary sometimes happens, as these harpies will bite at almost any thing, and will snap at a pair of silver buttons or buckles, as surely as at the specie itself. Nay, sometimes they are so voracious, that the very naked hook will go down, and the jolly young sailor is sacrificed for his own sake.

In vain, at such a season as this, would the vows of a pious heathen have prevailed over Neptune, Æolus, or any other marine deity. In vain would the prayers of a Christian captain be attended with the like success. The wind may change how it pleases, while
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all hands are on shore; the anchor would remain firm in the ground, and the ship would continue in duration, unless, like other forcible prison-breakers, it forcibly got loose for no good purpose.

Now, as the favour of winds and courts, and such like, is always to be laid hold on at the very first motion, for within twenty-four hours all may be changed again; so, in the former case, the loss of a day may be the loss of a voyage: for, though it may appear to persons not well skilled in navigation, who see ships meet and sail by each other, that the wind blows sometimes east and west, north and south, backwards and forwards, at the same instant; yet, certain it is, that the land is so contrived, that even the same wind will not, like the same horse, always bring a man to the end of his journey; but, that the gale which the mariner prayed heartily for yesterday, he may as heartily deprecate to-morrow; while all use and benefit, which would have arisen to him from the westerly wind of to-morrow, may be totally lost and thrown away, by neglecting the offer of the easterly blast which blows to-day.

Hence ensues grief and disreputation to the innocent Captain, loss and disappointment to the worthy merchant, and not seldom great prejudice to the trade of a nation, whose manufactures are thus liable to lie unfold in a foreign warehouse, the market being forestalled by some rival whose sailors are under a better discipline. To guard against these inconveniences, the prudent captain takes every precaution in his power: he makes the strongest contracts with his crew, and thereby binds them so firmly, that none but the greatest or least of men can break through them with impunity: but for one of these two reasons, which I will not determine, the sailor, like his brother fish the eel, is too slippery to be held, and plunges into his element with perfect impunity.

To speak a plain truth, there is no trusting to any contract with one whom the wise citizens of London call a bad man; for, with such a one, though your bond be ever so strong, it will prove in the end good for nothing.

What then is to be done in this case? What, indeed? but to call in the assistance of that tremendous magistrate, the justice of peace, who can, and often doth, lay good and bad men in equal durance; and, though he seldom cares to stretch his bonds to what is great, never finds any thing too minute for their detention, but will hold the smallest reptile alive so fast in his noose, that he can never get out till he is let drop through it.

Why, therefore, upon the breach of those contracts, should not an immediate application be made to the nearest magistrate of this order, who should be empowered to convey the delinquent, either to ship or to prison, at the election of the Captain, to be fettered by the leg in either place?

But, as the case now stands, the condition of this poor captain without any commission, and of this absolute commander without any power, is much worse than we have hitherto shewn it to be; for notwithstanding all the aforesaid contracts to sail in the good ship the Elizabeth, if the sailor should, for better wages, find it more his interest to go on board the better ship the Mary, either before their setting out, or on their speedy meeting in some port, he may prefer the latter without any other danger, than that of 'doing what he ought not to have done,' contrary to a rule which he is seldom Christian enough to have much at heart, while the Captain is generally too good a Christian to punish a man out of revenge only, when he is to be at a considerable expence for so doing. There are many other deficiencies in our laws relating to maritime affairs, and which would probably have been long since corrected, had we any seamen in the House of Commons. Not that I would insinuate that the legislature wants a supply of many gentlemen in the sea-service: but, as these gentlemen are, by their attendance in the house, unfortunately prevented from ever going to sea, and there learning what they might communicate to their landed brethren, these latter remain as ignorant in that branch of knowledge, as they would be if none but courtiers and fox-hunters had been elected into parliament, without a single fish among them. The following

following seems to me to be an effect of this kind, and it strikes me the stronger, as I remember the case to have happened, and remember it to have been dispenſible. A Captain of a trading veſſel, of which he was part owner, took in a large freight of oats at Liverpool, conſigned to the market at Bear-key; this he carried to a port in Hampſhire, and there ſold it as his own, and freighting his veſſel with wheat for the port of Cadiz in Spain, dropt it at Oporto in his way, and there ſelling it for his own uſe, took in a lading of wine, with which he ſailed again, and having converted it in the ſame manner, together with a large ſum of money with which he was intruſted, for the benefit of certain merchants, ſold the ſhip and cargo in another port, and then wiſely ſat down contented with the fortune he had made, and returned to London to enjoy the remainder of his days, with the fruits of his former labours and a good conſcience.

The ſum he brought home with him, conſiſted of near fix thouſand pounds, all in ſpecie, and moſt of it in that coin which Portugal diſtributes ſo liberally over Europe.

He was not yet old enough to be paſt all ſenſe of pleaſure, nor ſo puffed up with the pride of his good fortune, as to overlook his old acquaintances the journeymen tailors, from among whom he had been formerly preſſed into the ſea-ſervice; and having there laid the foundation of his future ſucceſs, by his ſhares in prizes, had afterwards become Captain of a trading veſſel, in which he purchaſed an intereſt, and had ſoon begun to trade in the honourable manner above-mentioned.

The Captain now took up his reſidence at an ale-houſe in Drury-lane, where, having all his money by him in a trunk, he ſpent above five pounds a day among his old friends the gentlemen and ladies of thoſe parts.

The merchant of Liverpool, having luckily had notice from a friend, during the blaze of his fortune, did, by the aſſiſtance of a juſtice of peace, without the aſſiſtance of the law, recover his whole loſs. The Captain, however, wiſely choſe to refund no more; but perceiving with what haſty ſtrides envy was purſuing his fortune, took ſpeedy means to retire out of her reach, and

to enjoy the rest of his wealth in an inglorious obscurity : nor could the same justice overtake him time enough to assist a second merchant, as he had done the first.

This was a very extraordinary case, and the more so, as the ingenious gentleman had steered entirely clear of all crimes in our law.

Now, how it comes about that a robbery so very easy to be committed, and to which there is such immediate temptation always before the eyes of these fellows, should receive the encouragement of impunity, is to be accounted for only from the oversight of the legislature, as that oversight can only be, I think, derived from the reasons I have assigned for it.

But I will dwell no longer on this subject. If what I have here said should seem of sufficient consequence to engage the attention of any man in power, and should thus be the means of applying any remedy to the most inveterate evils at least, I have obtained my whole desire, and shall have lain so long wind-bound in the ports of this kingdom to some purpose. I would indeed have this work, which, if I should live to finish it, a matter of no great certainty, if indeed of any great hope to me, will be probably the last I shall ever undertake, to produce some better end than the mere diversion of the reader.

Monday. This day our Captain went ashore, to dine with a gentleman who lives in these parts, and who so exactly resembles the character given by Homer of Axylus, that the only difference I can trace between them is, the one living by the highway, erected his hospitality chiefly in favour of land travellers; and the other living by the waterside, gratified his humanity by accommodating the wants of the mariner.

In the evening our commander received a visit from a brother bashaw, who lay wind-bound in the same harbour. This latter Captain was a Swiss. He was then master of a vessel bound to Guinea, and had formerly been a privateering, when our own hero was employed in the same laudable service. The honesty and freedom of the Switzer, his vivacity, in which he was in no respect inferior to his near neighbours the French,

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the aukward and affected politeness, which was likewise of French extraction, mixed with the brutal roughness of the English tar, (for he had served under the colours of this nation, and his crew had been of the same) made such an odd variety, such a hotch-potch of character, that I should have been much diverted with him, had not his voice, which was as loud as a speaking trumpet, unfortunately made my head ache. The noise which he conveyed into the deaf ears of his brother-captain, who sat on one side of him, the soft addresses, with which, mixed with aukward bows, he saluted the ladies on the other, were so agreeably contrasted, that a man must not only have been void of all taste of humour, and insensible of mirth, but duller than Cibber is represented in the Dunciad, who could be unentertained with him a little while: for, I confess, such entertainments should always be very short, as they are very liable to pall. But he suffered not this to happen at present. For having given us his company a quarter of an hour only, he retired, after many apologies for the shortness of his visit.

Tuesday. The wind being less boisterous than it had hitherto been since our arrival here, several fishing-boats, which the tempestuous weather yesterday had prevented from working, came on board us with fish. This was so fresh, so good in kind, and so very cheap, that we supplied ourselves in great numbers, among which were very large soals at four-pence a pair, and whittings, of almost a preposterous size, at nine-pence a score.

The only fish which bore any price was a john-dorée, as it is called. I bought one of at least four pounds weight for as many shillings. It resembles a turbot in shape, but exceeds it in firmness and flavour. The price had the appearance of being considerable, when opposed to the extraordinary cheapness of others of value; but was, in truth, so very reasonable, when estimated by its goodness, that it left me under no other surprise, than how the gentlemen of this country, not greatly eminent for the delicacy of their taste, had discovered the preference of
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the dorée to all other fish: but I was informed that Mr Quin, whose distinguishing tooth hath been so justly celebrated, had lately visited Plymouth, and had done those honours to the dorée, which are so justly due to it from that sect of modern philosophers, who, with Sir Epicure Mammon, or Sir Epicure Quin, their head, seem more to delight in a fish-pond than in a garden, as the old Epicureans are said to have done.

Unfortunately for the fishmongers of London, the dorée resides only in those seas; for could any of this company but convey one to the temple of luxury under the Piazza, where Macklin the high-priest daily serves up his rich offerings to that goddess, great would be the reward of that fishmonger, in blessings poured down upon him from the goddess; as great would his merits be towards the high-priest, who could never be thought to over-rate such valuable incense.

And here having mentioned the extreme cheapness of fish in the Devonshire sea, and given some little hint of the extreme dearness with which this commodity is dispensed by those who deal in it in London, I cannot pass on without throwing forth an observation or two, with the same view with which I have scattered my several remarks through this voyage, sufficiently satisfied in having finished my life, as I have, probably, lost it, in the service of my country, from the best of motives, though it should be attended with the worst of success. Means are always in our power; ends are very seldom so.

Of all the animal foods with which man is furnished, there are none so plenty as fish. A little rivulet, that glides almost unperceived through a vast tract of rich land, will support more hundreds with the flesh of its inhabitants, than the meadow will nourish individuals. But if this be true of rivers, it is much truer of the sea-shores, which abound with such immense variety of fish, that the curious fisherman, after he hath made his draught, often culls only the daintiest part, and leaves the rest of his prey to perish on the shore.

If this be true, it would appear, I think, that there is nothing which might be had in such abundance, and consequently so cheap, as fish, of which nature seems to have provided such inexhaustible stores with some peculiar design. In the production of terrestrial animals, she proceeds with such slowness, that in the larger kind a single female seldom produces more than one a-year, and this again requires three, four, or five years more to bring it to perfection. And though the lesser quadrupeds, those of the wild kind particularly, with the birds, do multiply much faster, yet can none of these bear any proportion with the aquatic animals, of whom every female matrix is furnished with an annual offspring, almost exceeding the power of numbers, and which, in many instances, at least, a single year is capable of bringing to some degree of maturity.

What then in general ought to be so plentiful, what so cheap as fish? What then so properly the food of the poor? So in many places they are, and so might they always be in great cities, which are always situated near the sea, or on the conflux of large rivers. How comes it then, to look no farther abroad for instances, that in our city of London the case is so far otherwise, that, except that of sprats, there is not one poor palate in an hundred that knows the taste of fish?

It is true, indeed, that this taste is generally of such excellent flavour, that it exceeds the power of French cookery to treat the palates of the rich with any thing more exquisitely delicate; so that was fish the common food of the poor, it might put them too much upon an equality with their betters, in the great article of eating, in which, at present, in the opinion of some, the great difference in happiness between man and man consists. But this argument I shall treat with the utmost disdain: for if ortolans were as big as bustards, and at the same time as plenty as sparrows, I should hold it yet reasonable to indulge the poor with the dainty, and that for this cause especially, that the rich would soon find a sparrow, if as scarce

scarce as an ortolan, to be much the greater, as it would certainly be the rarer, dainty of the two.

Vanity or scarcity will be always the favourite of luxury, but honest hunger will be satisfied with plenty. Not to search deeper into the cause of the evil, I shall think it abundantly sufficient to propose the remedies of it. And, first, I humbly submit the absolute necessity of immediately hanging all the fishmongers within the bills of mortality; and however it might have been some time ago the opinion of mild and temporising men, that the evil complained of might be removed by gentler methods, I suppose at this day there are none who do not see the impossibility of using such with any effect. *Cuncta prius tentanda* might have been formerly urged with some plausibility; but *cuncta prius tentata* may now be replied: for surely, if a few monopolizing fishmongers could defeat that excellent scheme of the Westminster market, to the erecting which so many justices of peace, as well as other wise and learned men, did so vehemently apply themselves, that they might be truly said not only to have laid the whole strength of their heads, but of their shoulders too, to the business, it would be a vain endeavour for any other body of men to attempt to remove so stubborn a nuisance.

If it should be doubted, whether we can bring this case within the letter of any capital law now subsisting? I am ashamed to own it cannot; for surely no crime better deserves such punishment; but the remedy may, nevertheless, be immediate; and if a law was made the beginning of next sessions, to take place immediately, by which the starving thousands of poor was declared to be felony, without benefit of clergy, the fishmongers would be hanged before the end of the sessions.

A second method of filling the mouths of the poor, if not with loaves, at least with fishes, is to desire the magistrates to carry into execution one, at least, out of near a hundred acts of parliament, for preserving the small fry of the river of Thames, by which means as few fish would satisfy thousands, as may now be devoured by a small number of individuals. But
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while a fisherman can break through the strongest meshes of an act of parliament, we may be assured he will learn so to contrive his own meshes, that the smallest fry will not be able to swim through them.

Other methods may, we doubt not, be suggested by those who shall attentively consider the evil here hinted at; but we have dwelt too long on it already, and shall conclude with observing, that it is difficult to affirm, whether the atrocity of the evil itself, the facility of curing it, or the shameful neglect of the cure, be the more scandalous, or more astonishing.

After having, however, gloriously regaled myself with this food, I was washing it down with some good claret, with my wife and her friend in the cabin, when the Captain's valet de chambre, head cook, house and ship steward, footman in livery and out on't, secretary and fore mast-man, all burst into the cabin at once, being, indeed, all but one person, and without saying 'by your leave,' began to pack half a hoghead of small beer in bottles, the necessary consequence of which must have been, either a total stop to conversation at that cheerful season when it is most agreeable, or the admitting that polyonymous officer aforesaid to the participation of it. I desired him, therefore, to delay his purpose a little longer, but he refused to grant my request; nor was he prevailed on to quit the room till he was threatened with having one bottle to pack more than his number, which then happened to stand empty within my reach.

With these menaces he retired at last, but not without muttering some menaces on his side, and which, to our great terror, he failed not to put into immediate execution.

Our Captain was gone to dinner this day with his Swiss brother; and, though he was a very sober man, was a little elevated with some champaign, which, as it cost the Swiss little or nothing, he dispensed at his table more liberally than our hospitable English noblemen put about those bottles, which the ingenious Peter Taylor teaches a led captain to avoid by distinguishing

distinguishing by the name of that generous liquor, which all humble companions are taught to postpone to the flavour of methuen, or honest port.

While our two captains were thus regaling themselves, and celebrating their own heroic exploits, with all the inspiration which the liquor, at least, of wit could afford them, the polyonymous officer arrived, and being saluted by the name of honest Tom, was ordered to sit down and take his glass before he delivered his message; for every sailor is by turns his captain's mate over a cann, except only that captain bathaw who presides in a man of war, and who, upon earth, has no other mate, unless it be another of the same bathaws.

Tom had no sooner swallowed his draught, than he hastily began his narrative, and faithfully related what had happened on board our ship; we say faithfully, though from what happened it may be suspected that Tom chose to add, perhaps, only five or six immaterial circumstances, as is always, I believe, the case, and may possibly have been done by me in relating this very story, though it happened not many hours ago.

No sooner was the Captain informed of the interruption which had been given to his officer, and indeed to his orders, for he thought no time so convenient as that of his absence for causing any confusion in the cabin, than he leapt with such haste from his chair, that he had like to have broke his sword, with which he always begirt himself when he walked out of his ship, and sometimes when he walked about in it, at the same time grasping eagerly that other implement called a cockade, which modern soldiers wear on their helmets, with the same view as the ancients did their crests, to terrify the enemy; he muttered something, but so inarticulately, that the word *dann* was only intelligible; he then hastily took leave of the Swiss captain, who was too well-bred to press his stay on such an occasion, and leapt first from the ship to his boat, and then from his boat to his own ship, with as much fierceness in his looks as he had

ever expressed on boarding his defenceless prey, in the honourable calling of a privateer.

Having regained the middle deck, he paused a moment, while Tom and others loaded themselves with bottles, and then descending into the cabin exclaimed with a thundering voice, ‘D—n me, why aren’t the bottles stowed in, according to my orders?’

I answered him very mildly, that I had prevented his man from doing it, as it was at an inconvenient time to me; and as in his absence, at least, I esteemed the cabin to be my own. ‘Your cabin!’ repeated he many times, ‘no, d—n me, ’tis my cabin. Your cabin! d—n me! I have brought my hogs to a fair market. I suppose, indeed, you, you think it your cabin, and your ship, by your commanding in it; but I will command in it, d—n me! I will shew the world I am the commander, and no body but I! Did you think I sold you the command of my ship for that pitiful thirty pounds? I wish I had not seen you nor your thirty pounds aboard of her.’ He then repeated the words *thirty pounds* often, with great disdain, and with a contempt which, I own, the sum did not seem to deserve in my eye, either in itself, or on the present occasion; being, indeed, paid for the freight of———weight of human flesh, which is above fifty per cent. dearer than the freight of any other luggage, whilst in reality it takes up less room, in fact, no room at all.

In truth, the sum was paid for nothing more, than for a liberty to fix persons (two of them servants) to stay on board a ship while she sails from one port to another, every shilling of which comes clear into the Captain’s pocket. Ignorant people may perhaps imagine, especially when they are told that the Captain is obliged to sustain them, that their diet, at least, is worth something; which may probably be now and then so far the case, as to deduct a tenth part from the neat profits on this account: but it was otherwise at present; for when I had contracted with the Captain at a price which I by no means thought moderate, I had some content in thinking I should have no more to pay for my voyage; but I was whispered that it was expected the passengers should find themselves in

several things; such as tea, wine, and such-like; and particularly that gentlemen should stowe of the latter a much larger quantity than they could use, in order to leave the remainder as a present to the Captain, at the end of the voyage; and it was expected, likewise, that gentlemen should put aboard some fresh stores; and the more of such things were put aboard, the welcomer they would be to the Captain.

I was prevailed with, by these hints, to follow the advice proposed; and accordingly, besides tea, and a large hamper of wine, with several hams and tongues, I caused a number of live chicken and sheep to be conveyed aboard; in truth, treble the quantity of provision which would have supported the persons I took with me, had the voyage continued three weeks, as it was supposed, with a bare possibility, it might.

Indeed, it continued much longer; but, as this was occasioned by our being windbound in our own ports, it was by no means of any ill consequence to the Captain, as the additional stores of fish, fresh meat, butter, bread, &c. which I constantly laid in, greatly exceeded the consumption, and went some way in maintaining the ship's crew. It is true, I was not obliged to do this; but it seemed to be expected; for the Captain did not think himself obliged to do it; and, I can truly say, I soon ceased to expect it of him. He had, I confess, on board, a number of fowls and ducks sufficient for a West-India voyage: all of them, as he often said, 'Very fine birds, and of the largest breed.' This, I believe, was really the fact; and, I can add, that they were all arrived at the full perfection of their size. Nor was there, I am convinced, any want of provisions of a more substantial kind; such as dried beef, pork, and fish; so that the Captain seemed ready to perform his contract, and amply provide for his passengers. What I did then, was not from necessity, but, perhaps, from a less excusable motive, and was, by no means, chargeable to the account of the Captain.

But let the motive have been what it would, the consequence was still the same; and this was such, that I am firmly persuaded the whole pitiful thirty pound

pound came pure and neat into the Captain's pocket, and not only so, but attended with the value of ten pound more in sundries, into the bargain. I must confess myself therefore at a loss how the epithet *pitiful* came to be annexed to the above sum: for not being a pitiful price for what it was given, I cannot conceive it to be pitiful in itself; nor do I believe it is so thought by the greatest men in the kingdom; none of whom would scruple to search for it in the dirtiest kennel, where they had only a reasonable hope of success.

How, therefore, such a sum should acquire the idea of *pitiful*, in the eyes of the master of a ship, seems not easy to be accounted for; since it appears more likely to produce in him ideas of a different kind. Some men, perhaps, are no more sincere in the contempt for it which they express, than others in their contempt of money in general; and I am the rather inclined to this persuasion, as I have seldom heard of either, who have refused or refunded this their despised object. Besides, it is sometimes impossible to believe these professions, as every action of the man's life is a contradiction to it. Who can believe a tradesman, who says he would not tell his name for the profit he gets by the selling such a parcel of goods, when he hath told a thousand lies in order to get it?

Pitiful, indeed, is often applied to an object, not absolutely, but comparatively with our expectations, or with a greater object: in which sense, it is not easy to set any bounds to the use of the word. Thus, a handful of halfpence daily appear pitiful to a porter, and a handful of silver to a drawer. The latter, I am convinced, at a polite tavern, will not tell his name (for he will not give you any answer) under the price of gold. And, in this sense, thirty pound may be accounted pitiful by the lowest mechanic.

One difficulty only seems to occur, and that is this: How comes it that, if the profits of the meanest arts are so considerable, the professors of them are not richer than we generally see them? One answer to this shall suffice. Men do not become rich by what they get, but by what they keep. He who is worth

no more than his annual wages or salary, spends the whole ; he will be always a beggar, let his income be what it will ; and so will be his family when he dies. This we see daily to be the case of ecclesiastics, who, during their lives, are extremely well provided for, only because they desire to maintain the honour of the cloth by living like gentlemen, which would, perhaps, be better maintained by living unlike them.

But, to return from so long a digression, to which the use of so improper an epithet gave occasion, and to which the novelty of the subject allured, I will make the reader amends by concisely telling him, that the Captain poured forth such a torrent of abuse, that I very hastily, and very foolishly, resolved to quit the ship. I gave immediate orders to summons a hoy to carry me that evening to Dartmouth, without considering any consequence. Those orders I gave in no very low voice ; so that those above stairs might possibly conceive there was more than one master in the cabin. In the same tone I likewise threatened the Captain with that which, he afterwards said, he feared more than any rock or quick-sand. Nor can we wonder at this, when we are told he had been twice obliged to bring to, and cast anchor there before, and had neither time escaped without the loss of almost his whole cargo.

The most distant sound of law thus frightened a man, who had often, I am convinced, heard numbers of cannon roar round him with intrepidity. Nor did he sooner see the hoy approaching the vessel, than he did run down again into the cabin ; and, his anger being perfectly subsided, he tumbled on his knees, and a little too abjectly implored for mercy.

I did not suffer a brave man, and an old man, to remain a moment in this posture ; but I immediately forgave him.

And here, that I may not be thought the fly trumpeter of my own praises, I do utterly disclaim all praise on the occasion. Neither did the greatness of my mind dictate, nor the force of my Christianity exact, this forgiveness. To speak truth, I forgave him from a motive which would make men much
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more forgiving, if they were much wiser than they are; because it was convenient for me so to do.

Wednesday. This morning the Captain dressed himself in scarlet, in order to pay a visit to a Devonshire squire, to whom a captain of a ship is a guest of no ordinary consequence, as he is a stranger and a gentleman, who hath seen a great deal of the world in foreign parts, and knows all the news of the times.

The squire, therefore, was to send his boat for the Captain; but a most unfortunate accident happened: for, as the wind was extremely rough, and against the hoy, while this was endeavouring to avail itself of great seamanship, in hawling up against the wind, a sudden squall carried off sail and yard; or, at least, so disabled them, that they were no longer of any use, and unable to reach the ship; but the Captain, from the deck, saw his hopes of venison disappointed, and was forced either to stay on board his ship, or to hoist forth his own long-boat, which he could not prevail with himself to think of, though the smell of the venison had had twenty times its attraction. He did, indeed, love his ship as his wife, and his boats as children, and never willingly trusted the latter, poor things! to the dangers of the seas.

To say truth, notwithstanding the strict rigour with which he preserved the dignity of his station, and the hasty impatience with which he resented any affront to his person or orders, disobedience to which he could in no instance brook in any person on board, he was one of the best-natured fellows alive. He acted the part of a father to his sailors; he expressed great tenderness for any of them when ill, and never suffered any the least work of supererogation to go unrewarded by a glass of gin. He even extended his humanity, if I may so call it, to animals, and even his cats and kittens had large shares in his affections. An instance of which we saw this evening, when the cat, which had shewn it could not be drowned, was found suffocated under a feather-bed in the cabin. I will not endeavour to describe his lamentations with more prolixity than barely by saying, they were

grievous, and seemed to have some mixture of the Irish howl in them. Nay, he carried his fondness even to inanimate objects, of which we have above set down a pregnant example in his demonstration of love and tenderness towards his boat and ship. He spoke of a ship which he had commanded formerly, and which was long since no more, which he had called the Princess of Brasil, as a widower of a deceased wife. This ship, after having followed the honest business of carrying goods and passengers for hire many years, did at last take to evil courses and turn privateer, in which service, to use his own words, she received many dreadful wounds, which he himself had felt, as if they had been his own.

Thursday. As the wind did not yesterday discover any purpose of shifting, and the water in my belly grew troublesome, and rendered me short-breathed; I began a second time to have apprehensions of wanting the assistance of a trochar, when none was to be found: I therefore concluded to be tapped again, by way of precaution; and accordingly I this morning summoned on board a surgeon from a neighbouring parish, one whom the Captain greatly recommended, and who did indeed perform his office with much dexterity. He was, I believe, likewise a man of great judgment and knowledge in the profession; but of this I cannot speak with perfect certainty; for when he was going to open on the dropsy at large, and on the particular degree of the distemper under which I laboured, I was obliged to stop him short (for the wind was changed, and the Captain in the utmost hurry to depart) and to desire him, instead of his opinion, to assist me with his execution.

I was now once more delivered from my burden, which was not indeed so great as I had apprehended, wanting two quarts of what was let out at the last operation.

While the surgeon was drawing away my water, the sailors were drawing up the anchor: both were finished at the same time; we unfurled our sails, and soon passed the Berry-head, which forms the mouth of the bay.

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We had not however failed far, when the wind, which had, though with a slow pace, kept us company about six miles, suddenly turned about, and offered to conduct us back again: a favour, which, though forely against the grain, we were obliged to accept.

Nothing remarkable happened this day; for as to the firm persuasion of the Captain that he was under the spell of witchcraft, I would not repeat it too often, though indeed he repeated it an hundred times every day; in truth, he talked of nothing else, and seemed not only to be satisfied in general of his being bewitched, but actually to have fixed, with good certainty, on the person of the witch, whom, had he lived in the days of Sir Matthew Hale, he would have infallibly indicted, and very possibly have hanged for the detestable sin of witchcraft: but that law, and the whole doctrine that supported it, are now out of fashion; and witches, as a learned divine once chose to express himself, are put down by act of parliament. This witch, in the Captain's opinion, was no other than Mrs Francis of Ryde, who, as he insinuated, out of anger to me, for not spending more money in her house than she could produce any thing to exchange for, or any pretence to charge for, had laid this spell on his ship.

Though we were again got near our harbour by three in the afternoon, yet it seemed to require a full hour or more, before we could come to our former place of anchoring, or birth, as the Captain called it. On this occasion we exemplified one of the few advantages, which the travellers by water have over the travellers by land. What would the latter often give for the sight of one of those hospitable mansions, where he is assured *that there is good entertainment for man and horse*; and where both may consequently promise themselves to assuage that hunger which exercise is so sure to raise in a healthy constitution?

At their arrival at this mansion, how much happier is the state of the horse than that of the master! The former is immediately led to his repast, such as it is; and, whatever it is, he falls to it with appetite.

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But the latter is in a much worse situation. His hunger, however violent, is always in some degree delicate, and his food must have some kind of ornament, or, as the more usual phrase is, of dressing, to recommend it. Now all dressing requires time; and therefore, though, perhaps, the sheep might be just killed before you came to the inn, yet in cutting him up, fetching the joint, which the landlord by mistake said he had in the house, from the butcher at two miles distance, and afterwards warming it a little by the fire, two hours at least must be consumed. While hunger, for want of better food, preys all the time on the vitals of the man.

How different was the case with us! we carried our provision, our kitchen, and our cook with us, and we were at one and the same time travelling on our road, and sitting down to a repast of fish, with which the greatest table in London can scarce at any rate be supplied.

Friday. As we were disappointed of our wind, and obliged to return back the preceding evening, we resolved to extract all the good we could out of our misfortune, and to add considerably to our fresh stores of meat and bread, with which we were very indifferently provided when we hurried away yesterday. By the Captain's advice, we likewise laid in some stores of butter, which we salted and potted ourselves, for our use at Lisbon; and we had great reason afterwards to thank him for his advice.

In the afternoon, I persuaded my wife, whom it was no easy matter for me to force from my side, to take a walk on shore, whither the gallant Captain declared he was ready to attend her. Accordingly, the ladies set out, and left me to enjoy a sweet and comfortable nap after the operation of the preceding day.

Thus we enjoyed our separate pleasures full three hours, when we met again; and my wife gave the foregoing account of the gentleman, whom I have before compared to Axylus, and of his habitation, to both which she had been introduced by the Captain, in the style of an old friend and acquaintance, though this foundation of intimacy seemed to her to be no deeper

deeper laid than an accidental dinner, eaten many years before, at this temple of hospitality, when the Captain lay wind-bound in the same bay.

Saturday. Early this morning, the wind seemed inclined to change in our favour. Our alert captain snatched its very first motion, and got under sail with so very gentle a breeze, that as the tide was against him, he recommended to a fishing hoy to bring after him a vast salmon, and some other provisions which lay ready for him on shore.

Our anchor was up at six, and before nine in the morning we had doubled the Berry-head, and were arrived off Dartmouth, having gone full three miles in as many hours, in direct opposition to the tide, which only befriended us out of our harbour; and though the wind was, perhaps, our friend, it was so very silent, and exerted itself so little in our favour, that, like some cool partisans, it was difficult to say whether it was with us or against us. The Captain, however, declared the former to be the case, during the whole three hours; but at last he perceived his error; or rather, perhaps, this friend, which had hitherto wavered in choosing his side, became now more determined. The Captain then suddenly tacked about, and asserting that he was bewitched, submitted to return to the place from whence he came. Now, though I am as free from superstition as any man breathing, and never did believe in witches, notwithstanding all the excellent arguments of my Lord Chief Justice Hale in their favour, and long before they were put down by act of parliament, yet by what power a ship of burden should sail three miles against both wind and tide, I cannot conceive; unless there was some supernatural interposition in the case: nay, could we admit that the wind stood neuter, the difficulty would still remain. So that we must of necessity conclude, that the ship was either bewitched or bewitched.

The Captain, perhaps, had another meaning. He imagined himself, I believe, bewitched, because the wind, instead of persevering in its change in his favour, for change it certainly did that morning, should suddenly return to its favourite station, and blow him back

back towards the Bay. But if this was his opinion, he soon saw cause to alter; for he had not measured half the way back, when the wind again declared in his favour, and so loudly, that there was no possibility of being mistaken.

The orders for the second tack were given, and obeyed, with much more alacrity than those had been for the first. We were all of us indeed in high spirits on the occasion; though some of us a little regretted the good things we were likely to leave behind us by the fisherman's neglect: I might give it a worse name, for he faithfully promised to execute a commission, which he had had abundant opportunity to do; but *nautica fides* deserves as much to be proverbial, as ever *Punica fides* could formerly have done. Nay, when we consider that the Carthaginians came from the Phenicians, who are supposed to have produced the first mariners, we may probably see the true reason of the adage; and it may open a field of very curious discoveries to the antiquarian.

We were, however, too eager to pursue our voyage, to suffer any thing we left behind us to interrupt our happiness, which, indeed, many agreeable circumstances conspired to advance. The weather was inexpressibly pleasant, and we were all seated on the deck, when our canvas began to swell with the wind. We had likewise in our view above thirty other sail around us, all in the same situation. Here an observation occurred to me, which perhaps, though extremely obvious, did not offer itself to every individual in our little fleet: when I perceived with what different success we proceeded, under the influence of a superior power, which, while we lay almost idle ourselves, pushed us forward on our intended voyage, and compared this with the slow progress which we had made in the morning, of ourselves, and without any such assistance, I could not help reflecting how often the greatest abilities by wind-bound as it were in life; or if they venture out, and attempt to beat the seas, they struggle in vain against wind and tide, and if they have not sufficient prudence to put back,
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are most probably cast away on the rocks and quicksands, which are every day ready to devour him.

It was now our fortune to set out *melioribus avibus*. The wind freshened so briskly in our poop, that the shore appeared to move from us, as fast as we did from the shore. The Captain declared he was sure of a wind, meaning its continuance; but he had disappointed us so often, that he had lost all credit. However, he kept his word a little better now; and we lost sight of our native land as joyfully, at least, as it is usual to regain it.

Sunday. The next morning, the Captain told me he thought himself thirty miles to the westward of Plymouth; and, before evening, declared that the Lizard point, which is the extremity of Cornwall, bore several leagues to leeward. Nothing remarkable past this day, except the Captain's devotion, who, in his own phrase, summoned all hands to prayers, which were read by a common sailor upon deck, with more devout force and address, than they are commonly read by a country curate, and received with more decency and attention by the sailors than are usually preserved in city-congregations. I am indeed assured, that if any such affected disregard of the solemn office in which they were engaged, as I have seen practised by fine gentlemen and ladies, expressing a kind of apprehension lest they should be suspected of being really in earnest in their devotion, had been shewn here, they would have attracted the contempt of the whole audience. To say the truth, from what I observed in the behaviour of the sailors in this voyage, and on comparing it with what I have formerly seen of them at sea and on shore, I am convinced that on land there is nothing more idle and dissolute; in their own element, there are no persons, near the level of their degree, who live in the constant practice of half so many good qualities. They are, for much the greater part, perfect masters of their business, and always extremely alert and ready in executing it, without any regard to fatigue or hazard. The soldiers themselves are not better disciplined, nor more obedient to orders, than these whilst aboard; they submit to every difficulty

difficulty which attends their calling with chearfulness, and no less virtues than patience and fortitude are exercised by them every day of their lives.

All these good qualities, however, they always leave behind them on shipboard: the sailor, out of water, is, indeed, as wretched an animal as the fish out of water; for though the former hath, in common with amphibious animals, the bare power of existing on the land, yet if he be kept there any time, he never fails to become a nuisance.

The ship having had a good deal of motion since she was last under sail, our women returned to their sickness, and I to my solitude; having, for twenty four hours together, scarce opened my lips to a single person. This circumstance of being shut up within the circumference of a few yards, with a score of human creatures, with not one of whom it was possible to converse, was perhaps so rare, as scarce ever to have happened before, nor could it ever happen to one who disliked it more than myself, or to myself at a season when I wanted more food for my social disposition, or could converse less wholesomely and happily with my own thoughts. To this accident, which Fortune opened to me in the Downs, was owing the first serious thought which I ever entertained of inrolling myself among the voyage-writers; some of the most amusing pages, if, indeed, there be any which deserve that name, were possibly the production of the most disagreeable hours which ever haunted the author.

Monday. At noon, the Captain took an observation, by which it appeared that Ushant bore some leagues northward of us, and that we were just entering the bay of Biscay. We had advanced a very few miles in this bay before we were entirely becalmed; we furled our sails, as being of no use to us: while we lay in this most disagreeable situation, more detested by the sailors than the most violent tempest, we were alarmed with the loss of a fine piece of salt beef, which had been hung in the sea to freshen it; this being, it seems, the strange property of salt water. The thief was immediately suspected, and presently afterwards

taken by the sailors. He was, indeed, no other than a huge shark, who, not knowing when he was well off, swallowed another piece of beef, together with a great iron crook on which it was hung, and by which he was dragged into the ship.

I should scarce have mentioned the catching this shark, though so exactly conformable to the rules and practice of voyage writing, had it not been for a strange circumstance that attended it. This was the recovery of the stolen beef out of the shark's maw, where it lay unchewed and undigested, and whence being conveyed into the pot, the flesh, and the thief that had stolen it, joined together in furnishing variety to the ship's crew.

During this calm we likewise found the mast of a large vessel, which the Captain thought had lain at least three years in the sea. It was stuck all over with a little shell-fish or reptile called a barnacle, and which probably are the prey of the rock-fish, as our Captain calls it, asserting that it is the finest fish in the world; for which we are obliged to confide entirely in his taste; for, though he struck the fish with a kind of harping-iron, and wounded him, I am convinced, to death, yet he could not possess himself of his body; but the poor wretch escaped to linger out a few hours, with probably great torments.

In the evening our wind returned, and so briskly, that we ran upwards of twenty leagues before the next day's [*Tuesday's*] Observation, which brought us to Lat. 47°. 42'. The Captain promised us a very speedy passage through the bay; but he deceived us, or the wind deceived him, for it so slackened at sun-set, that it scarce carried us a mile in an hour during the whole succeeding night.

Wednesday. A gale struck up a little after sun-rising, which carried us between three and four knots or miles an hour. We were this day at noon about the middle of the bay of Biscay, when the wind once more deserted us, and we were so entirely becalmed, that we did not advance a mile in many hours. My fresh-water reader will perhaps conceive no unpleasant idea from this calm; but it affected us much

more than a storm could have done; for as the irascible passions of men are apt to swell with indignation long after the injury which first raised them is over, so fared it with the sea. It rose mountains high, and lifted our poor ship up and down, backwards and forwards, with so violent an emotion, that there was scarce a man in the ship better able to stand than myself. Every utensil in our cabin rolled up and down, as we should have rolled ourselves, had not our chairs been fast lashed to the floor. In this situation, with our tables likewise fastened by ropes, the Captain and myself took our meal with some difficulty, and swallowed a little of our broth, for we spilt much the greater part. The remainder of our dinner, being an old, lean, tame duck roasted, I regretted but little the loss of, my teeth not being good enough to have chewed it.

Our women, who began to creep out of their holes in the morning, retired again within the cabin to their beds, and were no more heard of this day, in which my whole comfort was to find, by the Captain's relation, that the swelling was sometimes much worse; he did, indeed, take this occasion to be more communicative than ever, and informed me of such misadventures, that had befallen him within forty-six years at sea, as might frighten a very bold spirit from undertaking even the shortest voyage. Were these, indeed, but universally known, our matrons of quality would possibly be deterred from venturing their tender offspring at sea; by which means our navy would lose the honour of many a young commodore, who at twenty-two is better versed in maritime affairs than real seamen are made by experience at sixty.

And this may, perhaps, appear the more extraordinary, as the education of both seems to be pretty much the same; neither of them having had their courage tried by Virgil's description of a storm; in which, inspired as he was, I doubt whether our Captain doth not exceed him.

In the evening the wind, which continued in the N. W. again freshened, and that so briskly, that Cape Finisterre appeared by this day's observation to bear a

few miles to the southward. We now indeed sailed, or rather flew, near ten knots an hour; and the Captain, in the redundancy of good humour, declared he would go to church at Lisbon on Sunday next, for that he was sure of a wind; and, indeed, we all firmly believed him. But the event again contradicted him; for we were again visited by a calm in the evening.

But here, though our voyage was retarded, we were entertained with a scene, which as no one can behold without going to sea, so no one can form an idea of any thing equal to it on shore. We were seated on the deck, women and all, in the sereneſt evening that can be imagined. Not a ſingle cloud preſented itſelf to our view, and the ſun himſelf was the only object which engroſſed our whole attention. He did indeed ſet with a majeſty which is incapable of deſcription, with which, while the horizon was yet glowing with glory, our eyes were called off to the oppoſite part, to ſurvey the moon, which was then at full, and which in riſing preſented us with the ſecond object that this world hath offered to our viſion. Compared to theſe, the pageantry of theatres, or ſplendor of courts, are ſights almoſt below the regard of children.

We did not return from the deck till late in the evening: the weather being inexpressibly pleaſant, and ſo warm, that even my old diſtemper perceived the alteration of the climate. There was indeed a ſwell, but nothing comparable to what we had felt before, and it affected us on the deck much leſs than in the cabin.

Friday. The calm continued till ſun-riſing, when the wind likewiſe aroſe; but, unluckily for us, it came from a wrong quarter; it was S. S. E. which is that very wind which Juno would have ſolicited of Æolus, had Æneas been, in our latitude, bound for Liſbon.

The Captain now put on his moſt melancholy aſpect, and reſumed his former opinion, that he was bewitched. He declared, with great ſolemnity, that this was worſe and worſe, for that a wind directly in his teeth was worſe than no wind at all.

Had we pursued the course which the wind persuaded us to take, we had gone directly for Newfoundland, if we had not fallen in with Ireland in our way. Two ways remained to avoid this; one was, to put into a port in Galicia; the other, to beat to the westward with as little sail as possible; and this was our Captain's election.

As for us, poor passengers, any port would have been welcome to us; especially, as not only our fresh provisions, except a great number of old ducks and fowls, but even our bread was come to an end; and nothing but sea-biscuit remained, which I could not chew. So that now, for the first time in my life, I saw what it was to want a bit of bread.

The wind, however, was not so unkind as we had apprehended; but having declined with the sun, it changed at the approach of the moon, and became again favourable to us; though so gentle, that the next day's observation carried us very little to the southward of Cape Finisterre. This evening at six the wind, which had been very quiet all day, rose very high, and continuing in our favour, drove us seven knots an hour.

This day we saw a sail, the only one, as I heard of, we had seen in our whole passage through the Bay. I mention this on account of what appeared to me somewhat extraordinary. Though she was at such a distance that I could only perceive she was a ship, the sailors discovered she was a snow bound to a port in Galicia.

Sunday. After prayers, which our good Captain read on the deck with an audible voice, and with but one mistake, of *a lion* for *Elias*, in the second lesson for this day, we found ourselves far advanced in 42° ; and the Captain declared we should sup off *Porte*. We had not much wind this day; but, as this was directly in our favour we made it up with sail, of which we crowded all we had. We went only at the rate of four miles an hour, but with so uneasy a motion, continually rowling from side to side, that I suffered more than I had done in our whole voyage; my bowels being almost twisted out of my belly. However, the day was very serene and bright, and the Captain, who
was.

was in high spirits, affirmed he had never passed a pleasanter at sea.

The wind continued so brisk that we ran upward of six knots an hour the whole night.

Monday. In the morning, our Captain concluded that he was got into lat. 40° , and was very little short of the Burlings, as they are called in the charts. We came up with them at five in the afternoon, being the first land we had distinctly seen since we left Devonshire. They consist of abundance of little rocky islands, a little distant from the shore, three of them only shewing themselves above the water.

Here the Portuguese maintain a kind of garrison, if we may allow it that name. It consists of malefactors, who are banished hither for a term, for divers small offences; a policy which they may have copied from the Egyptians, as we may read in Diodorus Siculus. That wise people, to prevent the corruption of good manners by evil communication, built a town on the Red Sea, whither they transported a great number of their criminals, having first set an indelible mark on them, to prevent their returning and mixing with the sober part of their citizens.

These rocks ly about fifteen leagues north-west of Cape Roxent; or, as it is commonly called, the rock of Lisbon; which we past early the next morning. The wind, indeed, would have carried us thither sooner; but the Captain was not in a hurry, as he was to lose nothing by his delay.

Tuesday. This is a very high mountain, situated on the northern side of the mouth of the River Tago, which, rising above Madrid, in Spain, and soon becoming navigable for small craft, empties itself, after a long course, into the sea, about four leagues below Lisbon.

On the summit of the rock stands a hermitage, which is now in the possession of an Englishman, who was formerly master of a vessel trading to Lisbon; and, having changed his religion and his manners, the latter of which at least were none of the best, he took himself to this place, in order to do penance for his sins. He is now very old, and hath inhabited this

hermitage for a great number of years, during which he hath received some countenance from the royal family; and particularly from the present queen dowager, whose piety refuses no trouble or expences by which she may make a profelyte; being used to say, that the saving one soul would repay all the endeavours of her life.

Here we waited for the tide, and had the pleasure of surveying the face of the country, the soil of which, at this season, exactly resembles an old brick-kiln, or a field where the green-sward is pared up and set a-burning, or rather a-smoking, in little heaps, to manure the land. This sight will, perhaps, of all others, make an Englishman proud of, and pleased with, his own country. Another deficiency here, is the want of large trees; nothing above a shrub being here to be discovered in the circumference of many miles.

At this place we took a pilot on board, who, being the first Portuguese we spoke to, gave us an instance of that religious observance which is paid by all nations to their laws: for whereas it is here a capital offence to assist any person in going on shore from a foreign vessel, before it hath been examined, and every person in it viewed by the magistrates of health, as they are called; this worthy pilot, for a very small reward, rowed the Portuguese priest to shore at this place, beyond which he did not dare to advance; and in venturing whither he had given sufficient testimony of love for his native country.

We did not enter the Tajo till noon, when, after passing several old castles, and other buildings, which had greatly the aspect of ruins, we came to the castle of Bellisle, where we had a full prospect of Lisbon, and were, indeed, within three miles of it.

Here we were saluted with a gun, which was a signal to pass no farther, till we had complied with certain ceremonies, which the laws of this country require to be observed by all ships which arrive in this port. We were obliged then to cast anchor, and expect the arrival of the officers of the customs, without whose passport no ship must proceed farther than this place.

Here

Here likewise we received a visit from one of those magistrates of health before-mentioned. He refused to come on board the ship, till every person in her had been drawn up on deck, and personally viewed by him. This occasioned some delay on my part, as it was not the work of a minute to lift me from the cabin to the deck. The Captain thought my particular case might have been excused from this ceremony; and that it would be abundantly sufficient if the magistrate, who was obliged afterwards to visit the cabin, surveyed me there. But this did not satisfy the magistrate's strict regard to his duty. When he was told of my lameness, he called out with a voice of authority, 'Let him be brought up;' and his orders were presently complied with. He was, indeed, a person of great dignity, as well as of most exact fidelity in the discharge of his trust: both which are the more admirable, as his salary is less than thirty pounds English, *per annum*.

Before a ship hath been visited by one of those magistrates, no person can lawfully go on board her; nor can any on board depart from her. This I saw exemplified in a remarkable instance. The young lad, whom I have mentioned as one of our passengers, was here met by his father, who, on the first news of the Captain's arrival, came from Lisbon to Bellisle in a boat, being eager to embrace a son whom he had not seen for many years. But when he came along side our ship, neither did the father dare ascend, nor the son descend, as the magistrate of health had not been yet on board.

Some of my readers will, perhaps, admire the great caution of this policy, so nicely calculated for the preservation of this country from all pestilential distempers. Others will as probably regard it as too exact and formal to be constantly persisted in, in seasons of the utmost safety, as well as in times of danger. I will not decide either way; but will content myself with observing, that I never yet saw or heard of a place where a traveller had so much trouble given him at his landing as here. The only use of which, as all such matters begin and end in form only, is to put it
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into the power of low and mean fellows to be either rudely officious or grossly corrupt, as they shall see occasion to prefer the gratification of their pride or of their avarice.

Of this kind, likewise, is that power which is lodged with other officers here, of taking away every grain of snuff, and every leaf of tobacco, brought hither from other countries, though only for the temporary use of a person, during his residence here. This is executed with great insolence, and as it is in the hands of the dregs of the people, very scandalously: for, under pretence of searching for tobacco and snuff, they are sure to steal whatever they can find, in-somuch, that when they came on board, our sailors addressed us in the Covent-Garden language, ‘Pray, gentlemen and ladies, take care of your swords and watches.’ Indeed, I never yet saw any thing equal to the contempt and hatred which our honest tars every moment expressed for these Portuguese officers.

At Bellisfe lyes buried Catharine of Arragon, widow of Prince Arthur, eldest son of our Henry VII. afterwards married to, and divorced from, Henry VIII. Close by the church where her remains are deposited, is a large convent of Geronymites, one of the most beautiful piles of building in all Portugal.

In the evening at twelve, our ship, having received previous visits from all the necessary parties, took the advantage of the tide, and having sailed up to Lisbon, cast anchor there, in a calm and moon-shiny night, which made the passage incredibly pleasant to the women, who remained three hours enjoying it, whilst I was left to the cooler transports of enjoying their pleasures at second-hand; and yet, cooler as they may be, whoever is totally ignorant of such sensation, is at the same time void of all ideas of friendship.

Wednesday. Lisbon, before which we now lay at anchor, is said to be built on the same number of hills with old Rome; but these do not all appear to the water; on the contrary, one sees from thence one vast high hill and rock, with buildings arising above one another, and that in so steep and almost perpendicular

cular a manner, that they all seem to have but one foundation.

As the houses, convents, churches, &c. are large, and all built with white stone, they look very beautiful at a distance; but as you approach nearer, and find them to want every kind of ornament, all idea of beauty vanishes at once. While I was surveying the prospect of this city, which bears so little resemblance to any other that I have ever seen, a reflection occurred to me, that if a man was suddenly to be removed from Palmyra hither, and should take a view of no other city, in how glorious a light would the antient architecture appear to him! and what desolation and destruction of arts and sciences would he conclude had happened between the several æras of these cities!

I had now waited full three hours upon deck, for the return of my man, whom I had sent to bespeak a good dinner (a thing which had been long unknown to me) on shore, and then to bring a Lisbon chaise with him to the sea-shore; but it seems, the impertinence of the providore was not yet brought to a conclusion. At three o'clock, when I was from emptiness rather faint than hungry, my man returned, and told me, there was a new law lately made, that no passenger should set his foot on shore without a special order from the providore; and that he himself would have been sent to prison for disobeying it, had he not been protected as the servant of the Captain. He informed me likewise, that the Captain had been very industrious to get this order; but that it was then the providore's hour of sleep, a time when no man, except the king himself, durst disturb him.

To avoid prolixity, though in a part of my narrative which may be more agreeable to my reader than it was to me, the providore having at last finished his nap, dispatched this absurd matter of form, and gave me leave to come, or rather to be carried, on shore.

What it was that gave the first hint of this strange law, is not easy to guess. Possibly, in the infancy of their defection, and before their government could be well established, they were willing to guard against the bare possibility of surprise, of the success of which
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bare possibility the Trojan horse will remain for ever on record, as a great and memorable example. Now the Portuguese have no walls to secure them, and a vessel of two or three hundred tons will contain a much larger body of troops than could be concealed in that famous machine, though Virgil tells us (somewhat hyperbolically, I believe) that it was as big as a mountain.

About seven in the evening, I got into a chaise on shore, and was driven through the nastiest city in the world, though at the same time one of the most populous, to a kind of coffee-house which is very pleasantly situated on the brow of a hill, about a mile from the city, and hath a very fine prospect of the river Tajo from Lisbon to the sea.

Here we regaled ourselves with a good supper, for which we were as well charged, as if the bill had been made on the Bath-road, between Newbury and London.

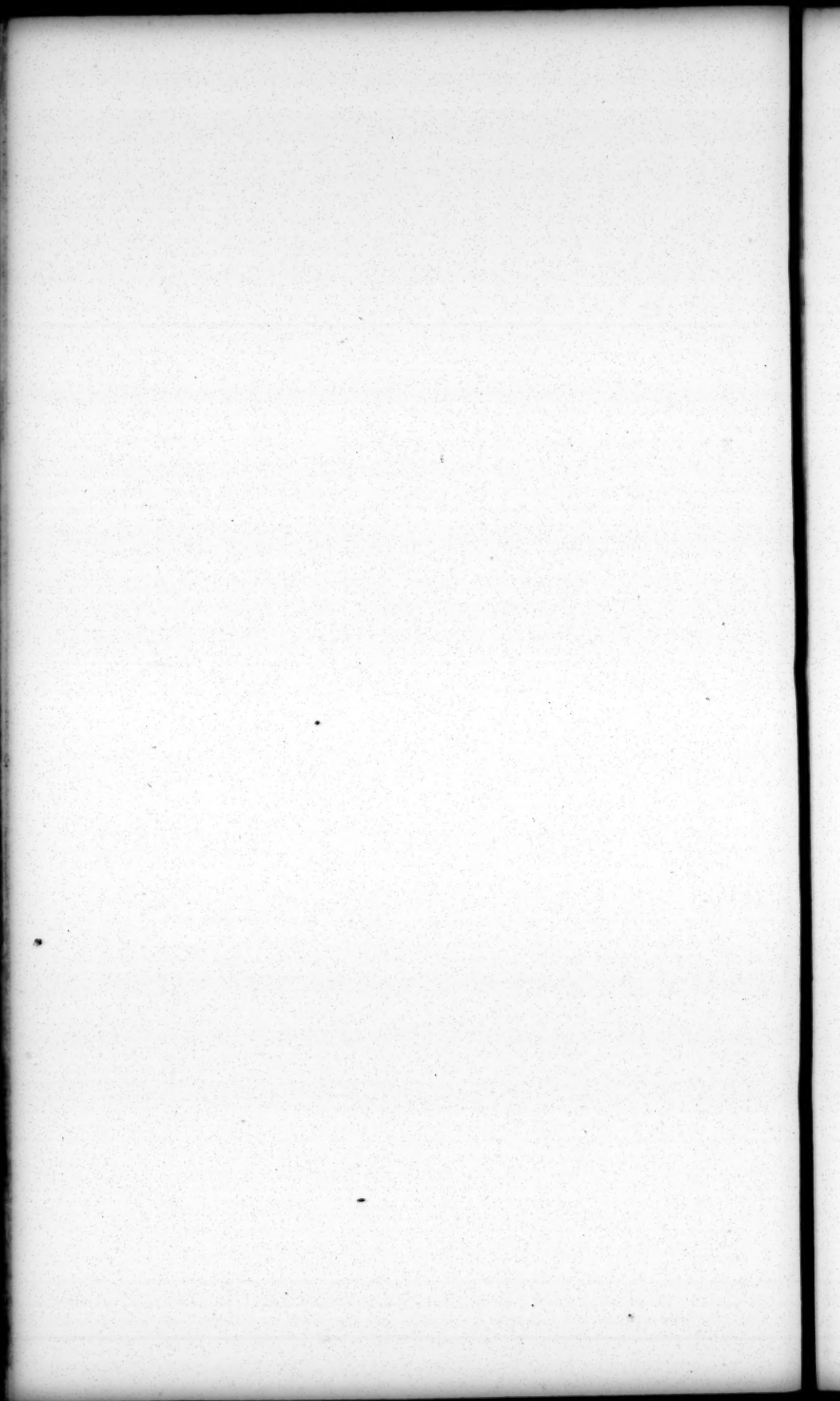
And now we could joyfully say,
Egressi optata Troes petiuntur arena.

Therefore, in the words of Horace,
———*hic Fines chartaque viæque.*

A F R A G M E N T

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F R A G M E N T
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LORD BOLINGBROKE'S ESSAYS.



F R A G M E N T, &c.

I MUST confess myself to be one of those who brought with me to the perusal of the late published volumes of Lord Bolingbroke, a very high prejudice to the doctrines said to have been established in them; but at the same time, can as truly assert, that I had the highest and strongest prepossession in favour of the abilities of the author. Such, indeed, was this prepossession, that it might, I think, be a sufficient warrant of a man's candour against any prejudice whatever: and it is in the true spirit of this candour that I declare, upon the perusal, I have found my prepossessions greatly abated, and my prejudices not in the least removed.

Could it therefore be supposed, that all mankind were alike able to try the cause of truth, and to form their judgment on the weight of argument and evidence only, I think there could be no danger in leaving the decision of this matter upon his Lordship's own reasoning, without any attempt to answer him. But when we consider how very weak the abilities of mankind in general are, in disquisitions of this nature; how much weaker they are rendered for this purpose by want of due attention; and, lastly, how apt they are to carry any little partiality which they have preconceived before the examination of a cause, up to the final decision of it in their minds, it may possibly be very dangerous to the society to suffer such pernicious doctrines to stand unobjected to, with so great a name at their head. Many, I am convinced, will think the authority of this name alone sufficient to establish their own belief upon, without any farther inquiry at all. Many others will imagine very little

inquiry necessary, and, though they did not entirely acquiesce in taking his word, will be easily cajoled with his reasons, which, however little they may have of substance, have much of the specious ornaments of wit and language, with all the allurements of novelty both of style and manner; and, finally, with an appearance, at least, of reading very singular and extensive.

From which last particular may arise a third sort very worthy of receiving some assistance on this occasion; such, I mean, as have not the least inclination to his Lordship's doctrines, nor would, indeed, assent to them on the authority of any man breathing, who may yet have wanted leisure or opportunity sufficient to provide themselves with a proper fund of knowledge to give a ready answer to various assertions which will occur in the works now under consideration, and which, though they have the worst of tendencies, have in reality themselves no better support (and not always so good a one) than some very weak and slender hypotheses, and are at other times built on the revival of old chimerical principles, which have been confuted and exploded long ago.

Now, to all these different constitutions, we shall endeavour to apply our several antidotes. And here, luckily for us, we are provided with an argument which must most effectually silence those who are the most difficult of all others to be usually dealt with in the way of reasoning; such are the persons I mentioned in the first class, who believe from authority only, and who have not yet, with the schools, given up the irresistible argument of, *he Himself said it*.

The force of this argument, however, even in the days when it flourished most, drew all its strength from a supposition that, if he himself said it, he himself believed it: for, if it could have been proved of Aristotle that he had asserted *pro* and *con*, and had, with the same clearness, affirmed in one part of his works the same things to be, and in another the same things not to be, none of his scholars would have known which he believed, and all others would, perhaps, have thought that he had no belief at all in, nor indeed any knowledge of the matter.

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If, therefore, his Lordship shall appear to have made use of this duplicity of assertion, and that not in one or two, but in many instances, may we not draw the like conclusions? Luckily, perhaps, for his Lordship, we may not be driven to the same absolute degree of uncertainty as must have resulted from the case of Aristotle, as I have put it above; since our noble author himself seems to have left us a kind of clue, which will sufficiently lead us to the discovery of his meaning, and will shew us, as often as he is pleased to assert both sides of a contradiction, on which side we are to believe him.

And here I shall premise two cautions; one of which I shall borrow from the rules established among writers; the reasonableness of the other I shall endeavour to evince, from a rule given us by one of the greatest lawyers whom this kingdom ever bred.

The first is, that of interpreting the sense of an author with the utmost candour, so as not to charge him with any gross and invidious meaning, when his words are susceptible of a much more benign and favourable sense.

The second is, the observation formed upon the works of Judge Littleton by Lord Chief Justice Coke: this is, that whenever that great lawyer is pleased to put down two opinions directly contradicting each other, that the latter opinion is always the best, and always his own.

To apply these to the present purpose, I first of all recommend to the candour of the reader, that whenever he shall find two assertions directly contrary to each other (and many such we do promise to produce to him) one of which directly tends to take away all religion whatever, and the other as directly to establish natural religion at least, that he will be so kind, since it is impossible that my Lord should have believed both, to imagine that he rather believed the latter; especially as this latter, from its contradicting the apparent purpose of the author, appears to have been last set down; and consequently, will have my Lord Coke's sanction in favour of the superior authority.

Lastly, if it should ever happen that his Lordship's sentiments should be more clearly expressed in favour of the worse than of the better doctrine, we will endeavour all that in us lies to explain and illustrate those hints; by which, we trust, he will always assist a careful and accurate examiner in rescuing the esoteric purity of his doctrines from that less amiable appearance in which their exoteric garb represents them.

In short, we doubt not but to make it appear as a fact beyond all contest, that his Lordship was in jest through the whole work which we have undertaken to examine. If an inflamed zealot should, in his warmth, compare such jesting to his in the Psalmist; or, if a cooler disposition should ask, how it was possible to jest with matters of such importance? I confess I have no defence against the accusation, nor can give any satisfactory answer to the question. To this, indeed, I could say, and it is all that I could say, that my Lord Bolingbroke was a great genius, sent into the world for great and astonishing purposes. That the ends, as well as means, of action in such personages, are above the comprehension of the vulgar. That his life was one scene of the wonderful throughout. That as the temporal happiness, the civil liberties and properties of Europe, were the game of his earliest youth, there could be no sport so adequate to the entertainment of his advanced age, as the eternal and final happiness of all mankind. That this is the noblest conservation of character, and might, if perceived in himself, possibly lead our great genius to see the Supreme Being in the light of a dramatic poet, and that part of his works which we inhabit as a drama: 'The sensitive inhabitants of our globe,' says Lord Bolingbroke †, 'like the *dramatis personæ*, have different characters, and are applied to different purposes of action in every scene. The several parts of the material world, like the machines of a theatre, were contrived not for the actors, but for the action: and the whole order and system of the drama would be

† Vol. V. p. 377.

disordered and spoiled, if any alteration was made in either. The nature of every creature, his manner of being, is adapted to his state here, to the place he is to inhabit, and, as we may say, to the part he is to act.' It hath been, I think, too common with poets to aggrandize their profession with such kind of families, and I have, somewhere in an English dramatic writer, met with one so nearly resembling the above, that his Lordship might be almost suspected to have read it likewise; but such conceits are inconsistent with any (even the least) pretence to philosophy. I recollect, indeed, a single instance, in the writings of Jordano Bruno, who was burnt at Rome for heresy, or, if we believe Scioppius, for most horrid blasphemy, the latter end of the sixteenth century; and who, from a want of a due correspondence between the passive powers of matter, and the active power of God, compares the Supreme Being to a fiddler, who hath skill to play, but cannot for want of a fiddle. This, it must be confessed, is going somewhat farther; as much farther, in reality, as to descend from the stage to the orchestra. This ludicrous treatment of the Being so universally (for half a dozen madmen must not be allowed to strip any opinion of universality) acknowledged to be the cause of all things, whilst it sounds so ill in the grave voice of reason, very well becomes the lips of a droll: for novelty, boldness, and even absurdity, as they all tend to surprise, do often give a poignancy to wit, and serve to enhance a jest. This affords a second reason why we may suspect his Lordship was not over serious in the work before us.

Thirdly, That his Lordship never thought proper to revise this performance, is a very strong argument that he could not be in earnest either in believing himself in his own doctrines, or in endeavouring to imprint such a belief on others. That he did not in fact revise his works is manifest, from the numerous contradictions that occur in them, and these often in the same page; so that, for the most part, they could not escape the dullest and bluntest degree of penetration. Surely we cannot impute such repeated oversights to

one who hath so explicitly asserted *, That to be liable to contradict yourself, is to be liable to one of the greatest of human imperfections ! An author, in the first hurry of setting down his thoughts on a subject which warms him, may possibly, indeed, assert two opinions not perfectly reconcileable with each other ; nay, there are some writers from whom we can reasonably expect no less ; since, as Archbishop Tillotson observes, it is hard to contradict truth and nature, without contradicting one's-self. But to expunge such mistakes is the office of revision and correction ; and therefore, a work in which these mistakes abound, is very justly called an incorrect performance. As this work therefore doth, more than any which I ever saw, afford us instances of what his Lordship calls the greatest human imperfection, charity shews me no more candid way of accounting for them than this which I have mentioned.

Lastly, The very form and title, under which the noble Lord hath thought proper to introduce his philosophy into the world, is a very strong evidence of the justice of all the foregoing observations. We may form, I think, one general precept from the trite story of Archimedes : this is, not to undertake any great work without preconcerting such means as may be adequate to the execution. Now to turn the material world topsy-turvy, is a project scarce more difficult in appearance, than to perform the same notable exploit in the intellectual. And yet Archimedes might as judiciously have fixed his machine *in vacuo*, as his Lordship hath chosen to argue against the best established systems in the intellectual world, in fragments of essays. This method, not to mention the indignity it offers to the subject in dispute, is treating the whole body of the learned with more supercilious disrespect than nature seems yet to have qualified any member of that body to express towards the rest of his brethren ; and which must appear to be wonderful, if serious, in one who expresses so modest an opinion of his own critical talents ; though, as to his modesty, it must indeed be confessed to be somewhat seasoned with a due mixture of contempt.

* Essays, p. 181.

But whatever may lessen the idea of his Lordship's modesty, there is only one way to lessen that of his absurdity; this is to conclude that he was in jest: nay, there is one way to see this absurdity in an amiable light; for in such a light will he appear, if we suppose that he puts on the jack-pudding's coat with the noble view of exposing and ridiculing those pernicious tenets which have lately been propagated with a zeal more difficult to be accounted for than its success.

That such an attempt of exposing any popular error would always prove victorious, is, I think, extremely probable. My Lord Shaftesbury hath been blamed for saying, 'That ridicule is one of those principal lights or natural mediums by which things are to be viewed, in order to a thorough recognition: for that truth, it is supposed, may bear all lights *.' Perhaps there may be some justice in this censure, as truth may by such a trial be subjected to misrepresentation, and become a more easy prey to the malice of its enemies; a flagrant instance of which we have in the case of Socrates.

But whatever objection there may be against trying truth by ridicule, there can be none, I apprehend, of making use of its assistance in expelling and banishing all fallhood and imposture, when once fairly convicted, out of society; and as this method is for this purpose very unexceptionable, so is it generally the most efficacious that can be invented; as will appear by some examples which will occur in the course of our comment on his Lordship's essays, or fragments of essays, on which we shall now enter without further preface or apology.

S E C T. I.

AND here, as a proof that we are as liable to be corrupted by our books as by our companions, I am in danger of setting out with a contradiction. Nay, I must yet venture to do this in some degree with my eyes open, and must lay my defence

* Essay on the freedom of wit and humour, part I. sect. I.

on a distinction rather too nice, and which relies too much on the candour of my reader.

The truth is, our noble author's chief strength lies in that very circumstance which I have before asserted to be of itself alone a sufficient argument of his weakness; whereas, on the contrary, his manner affords such a protection to his matter, that if he had designed to reserve to himself the sole privilege of answering his own doctrine, he could not have invented a more ingenious or effectual contrivance. It hath been alledged as a good reason for not answering certain books, that one must be obliged first to read them; but surely we shall find few men so very charitable, or so much our friends, to give them order and method with a view only of complimenting them with an answer.

This, however, I attempted, though I own with no great success; and that not so much, I apprehend, from want of sufficient matter to make out such colourable systems as may be expected in such a writer, as from a certain dark, cautious, and loose manner of expressing his sentiments, which must arise either from a writer's desire of not being very easily explained, or from an incapacity of making himself very clearly understood. The difficulties arising to the commentator on these fragments, will appear to be assignable only to the former cause: for a very indifferent reader will be seldom at a loss in comprehending his Lordship in his own works; but to transfer his doctrines with their authority (i. e. the *ipse dixit* of the author) into another work, is often very difficult, and, without long quotations, too apt to tire the reader, impossible. In this light a very fine thought of Mr Pope's occurs to my memory:

- 'Tho' index-learning turns no student pale,
- 'It holds the eel of science by the tail.'

The best way then of proceeding with so slippery a reasoner, the only way, indeed, in which I see any possibility of proceeding with him, is first to lay down some general rules, all of which will hereafter be proved out of his writings, and then pursuing him

chapter

chapter by chapter, to extract the several proofs, however scattered and dispersed, which tend to establish both parts of the contradictions, which I shall now set down.

Our noble author sets out in his first section, with a sly intimation, that it is possible for the gravest of philosophers on the gravest of subjects, to advance propositions in jest. 'It is more probable,' says Lord B——, 'and it is more candid to believe, that this philosopher (Descartes) was in earnest, than that he was in jest, when he advanced this proposition *,' *concerning the immutability and eternity of certain mathematical truths*. I will add, that I believe that an idea of such jesting had never any footing in a human head, till it first found admission into that of this noble Lord.

In the same section his Lordship proceeds thus :
 ' The ancients thought matter eternal, and assumed
 ' that the Demiurgus, or Divine Architect, composed
 ' the frame of the world with materials which were
 ' ready prepared, and independently on him, in a
 ' confused chaos. Much in the same manner such
 ' metaphysicians as the learned Cudworth have ima-
 ' gined a sort of intellectual chaos, a chaos of eter-
 ' nal ideas, of incorporeal essences, independent on
 ' God, self-existent, and therefore coeval with the
 ' Supreme being, and therefore anterior to all other
 ' natures. In this intellectual chaos God sees, and
 ' man must endeavour to see, the natures, the real
 ' essences of things : and thus the foundations of mo-
 ' rality are laid higher than the existence of any mo-
 ' ral agents, before there was any system of being
 ' from which the obligations to it could result, or
 ' to which they could be applied : just as the same
 ' philosophers suppose the incorporeal essences of
 ' white and black to have existed when there was no
 ' such thing as colour, and those of a square and
 ' circle, when there was neither form nor figure†.'

Here I am afraid the learned peer hath gone no farther for his erudition than the first or second pages of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* : for could he be recalled

* Essays, page 4.

† Ibid. page 6.

from the dead, contrary to his own doctrine, as he hath recalled Descartes, and were asked whom he meant by the ancients, he could not certainly answer in general, the ancient philosophers, for then the whole tribe of atheists would be ready to testify against him. If he should answer, that he meant the ancient theists only, and less he cannot be supposed to mean by those who are well-bred enough to suppose he meant any thing, he will be far from finding even among these an universal concurrence with his own opinion. Thales, the chief of the Grecian sages, and who is said to have first turned his thoughts to physiological enquiries, affirmed the independent pre-existence of God from all eternity. The words of Laertius are remarkable, and I will render them with the most literal exactness in my power. He asserted, says Laertius, ' That God was the eldest of all beings, for he ' existed *without a previous cause* EVEN IN THE WAY ' OF GENERATION; that the world was the most ' beautiful of all things; for *it was* CREATED BY ' God, &c. * This notion of the creation, Aristotle tells us, was agreeable to the concurrent voice of all antiquity; ' All,' says he, ' assert the creation of the ' world; but they differ in this, that some will have ' the world susceptible of dissolution, which others ' deny. †' On this occasion Aristotle names Empedocles and Heraclitus, but, which is somewhat remarkable, never mentions Thales. The opinion itself is opposed by the Stagirite; and this opposition he was forced to maintain, or he must have given up the eternity of the world, which he very justly asserts to be inconsistent with any idea of its creation. But we will dismiss the ancients from the bar, and see how his Lordship will support his arraignment of the moderns. The charge against them is, that they have holden certain ideas, or incorporeal essences, to be self-existent. Concerning these doctrines his Lordship thus harangues in the very same page ‡: ' Mr Locke

* Diog. Laert. lib. i. §. 35. where I submit to the learned reader the construction he will observe I have given to the different import of those terms, ἀπρόσκλητον and αἰώνιος; the first of which may be understood as qualified the latter as an absolute cause.

† Aristot. De celo, lib. i. cap. 10.

‡ Essay, page 6.

' observes,

observes, how impossible it is for us to conceive cer-
 tain relations, habitudes, and connections, visibly
 included in some of our ideas, to be separable from
 them even by infinite power. Let us observe, on
 this occasion, how impossible, or, at least, how ex-
 tremely difficult, it is for us to separate the idea of
 eternity from certain moral and mathematical truths,
 as well as from such as are called necessary, and are
 self-evident, on one hand: and, on the other, how
 impossible it is to conceive that truths should exist
 before the things to which they are relative; or
 particular natures and essences, before the system of
 universal nature, and when there was no being but
 the super-essential Being.*

If I had any inclination to cavil, I might, with
 truth, assert that no such passage is to be found in Mr
 Locke. His words are: 'In some of our ideas there
 are certain relations, habitudes, and connexions,
 so visibly included in the nature of the ideas them-
 selves, that we cannot conceive them separable from
 them by any power whatsoever *.' It may be answer-
 ed, perhaps, that the violence is done rather to the
 expression, than to the meaning, of this truly great
 man; but if I should candidly admit that he seems,
 from the immediate context, to mean no less (I say,
 seems to mean: for, whoever will carefully compare
 what is said in another part of the same book †, of the
 powers of the mind in forming the archetypes of
 its complex ideas of mixed modes, may possibly think
 he sees sufficient reason for resolving what is here
 affirmed of arbitrary (not infinite) power, into the
 human mind only): I may yet reply, that such a
 violence even to the expression of such a writer on
 such a subject, is by no means void of blame, nor
 even of suspicion, when it is left without a reference
 to conceal itself in a large folio, where it will not be
 easily detected by any but those who are pretty fa-
 miliarly acquainted with the original.

But it is time to close this article, which, I think,
 seems to establish contradiction the first: for under

* Essay on Human Understanding l. iv. cap. 3. § 29.

† Locke's Essay, l. ii. cap. 31.

what other term shall we range the arguing *pro* and *con* in the same breath? for where is the force of the accusation, or, as a lawyer would call it, the gift of the indictment, against poor Cudworth? is it not (to use my Lord's own phrase) 'the laying the foundations of morality higher than the existence of any moral agents?' And what says my Lord to enforce the charge? Why, truly, he alledges in defence of the accused, that it was impossible for him to have done otherwise, and produces the authority of Mr Locke to confirm this impossibility.

The generosity of this sudden transition from accuser to advocate would convince all men on which side his Lordship had here delivered his real sentiments, was it not somewhat controled by his having concealed from his readers, that the philosopher a little afterwards, in the same book *, hath endeavoured to prove, and, I think, actually hath proved, that there is no absurdity in what my Lord Bolingbroke objects, provided the doctrine be rightly understood, so as not to establish innate principles. That the actual existence of the subjects of mathematical or moral ideas is not the least necessary to give us a sufficient evidence of the necessity of those ideas; and that, in the disputes of the mathematician as well as of the moralist, the existence of the subject-matter is rarely called in question; nor is it more necessary to their demonstrations and conclusions, than it would be to prove the truth of Tully's Offices, to shew that there was some man who lived up to that idea of perfect goodness, of which Tully hath given us a pattern. There is somewhat very mysterious in all this; but we have not promised to explain contradictions further than by shewing to which side his Lordship's authority seems to incline. And surely it is better to decide in favour of possibility, and to lay the foundations of morality too high, than to give it no foundation at all.

Desunt cetera.

* Locke's Essays, Lib. iv. cap. 9.

F I N I S.



